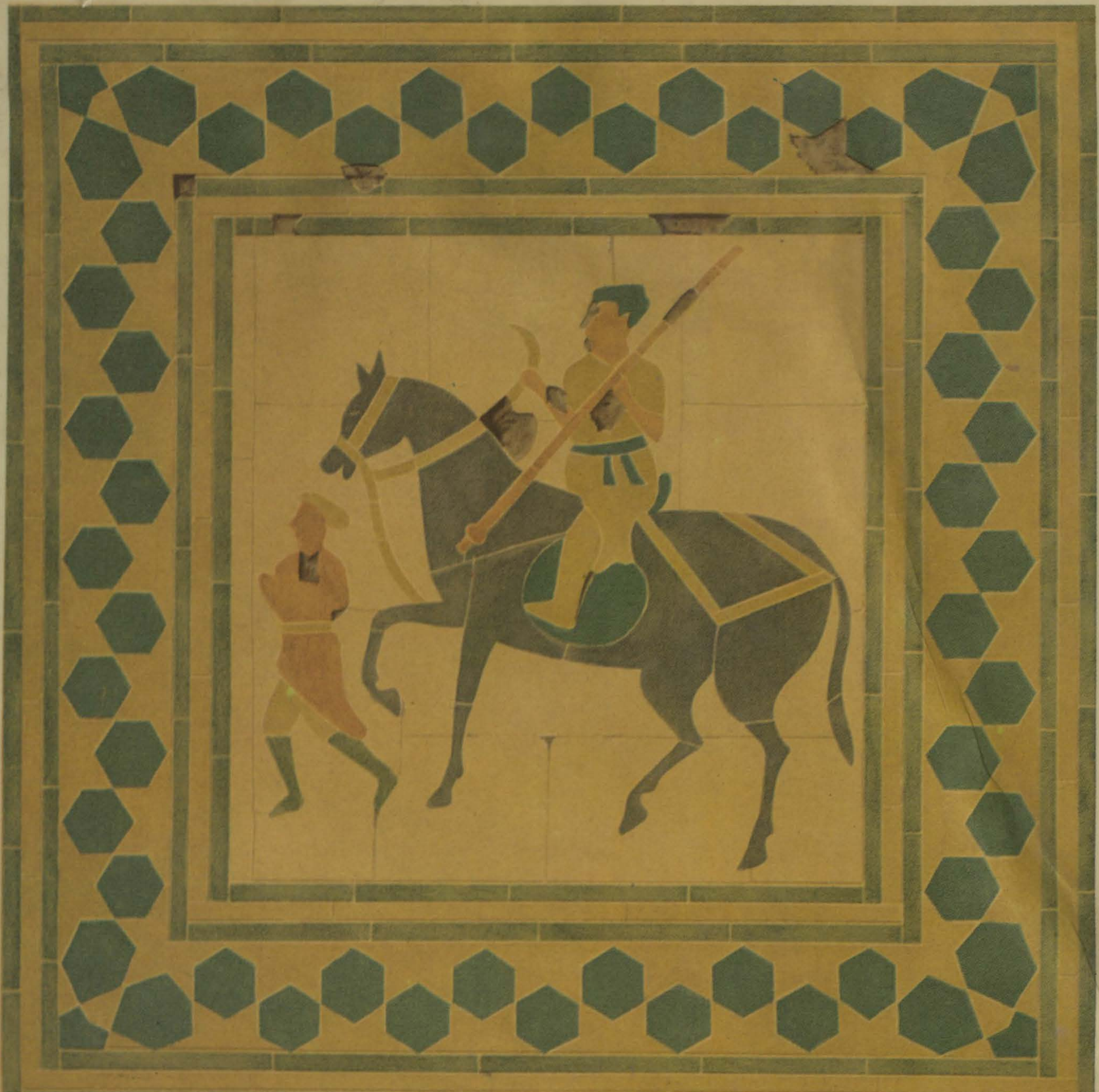


TILE-MOSAICS OF THE LAHORE FORT

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Late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle

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WITH EIGHTY PLATES

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Hon. A. R. I. B. A., Director-General of Archaeology in India

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"The Tile-Mosaics of Lahore Fort", was first published in 1920. It has been out of print for a long time. It has now been reprinted and the colour plates have been reproduced from the Lithograph prints from the original publication. At the end, 12 pages have been added which faithfully reproduce (from colour transparencies) some of the mosaics as they exist today on the walls of Lahore Fort.

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PREFACE

THIS is the third report belonging to the Imperial Series in which the subject of enamelled tilework is dealt with, the two which have preceded it being 'The Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra' by the late Mr. Edmund W. Smith and 'Sind Tiles' by Mr. Henry Cousens. It is hoped that in the course of time it will be possible to bring out monographs on the Rukn-i-Alam at Multan and on the early Moghul tile decoration found on ancient monuments round Delhi, so that students of Oriental art will be in possession of a complete survey of this mode of decoration, as it was practised in India during the period of Moslem rule.

It may, perhaps, appear premature to devote a special volume to the decoration of a wall belonging to a group of palace buildings, of whose architecture no full description has yet been given to the public. It is only of late years, however, that the Lahore palace has received that attention which it so richly deserves as an historical monument of the first order. This attention was in the first place due to the vigorous initiative of Lord Curzon. Sir John Marshall, who was appointed Director-General of Archaeology during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, was quick to recognize the great importance of these buildings, and his Annual Reports contain detailed accounts of the work of repair which since 1902 has been carried on in the Lahore Fort year after year. Three among the most important of the palace buildings, the Diwan-i-Amm, the Moti Masjid and the Chhoti Khwabgah, which had been put to improper uses, have now been reclaimed from the military and given back to the enjoyment of the public. The Jahangiri Mahall is the only portion of the Lahore palace which still remains to be rescued. It is devoutly to be hoped that the restoration of this, the earliest and in many ways the most interesting member of the group, will soon become possible.

The work of preservation has been carried out under the able guidance of my late colleagues, Mr. W. H. Nicholls and the lamented Mr. R. Froude Tucker.

The task of bringing out this volume I should willingly have left to the present Superintendent of Muhammadan monuments, had it not been for the circumstance that the drawings here reproduced were chiefly prepared during my tenure of that office. My boldness in venturing on a field which is not really mine, may perhaps find its excuse in the interest I have taken in the Fort of Lahore ever since I first visited it in April 1899. It will also account for any defects found in the accompanying text.

There were two reasons which induced me to take in hand a record of the Lahore tiles: their far-advanced decay and their unique nature. It is true that tesselated tiles like these are a common mode of decoration on Moslem monuments at Lahore and other places in Northern India, but I know of no other instance in which the designs include representations of living beings. All such panels, therefore, as exhibit man or beast, have been selected for reproduction, except those which are too much damaged to be recognizable, or those which are merely duplicates executed in

a different scheme of colour. The work of reproducing these one hundred and sixteen panels has involved considerable labour. It was started in the beginning of 1902. In April of the same year my draftsmen had prepared tracings of all the panels selected for publication, the exact colour of each separate tile being marked on the tracing. The position of some of the panels, which could only be reached with the aid of long bamboo ladders tied together, made their task difficult and dangerous.

The work of preparing drawings on a reduced scale from the tracings was carried out in my office, but not without comparing each finished drawing with its original on the Fort wall. It took no less than five years to bring the work to an end, as only part of the summer months could be devoted to it, the cold season being entirely taken up by other and more pressing duties. The copying and colouring were entirely done by my head-draftsman, Munshi Ghulam Muhammad, who has been attached to the Archaeological Survey for the last twenty-seven years. The excellence of his work does great credit to the Mayo School of Art at Lahore, where he received his early training in the days when Mr. Lockwood Kipling was Principal of that institution. It will be doubly appreciated by those who have experienced the scorching heat of a Lahore summer, which makes life intolerable and labour distressing even to natives of the country.

The reproduction of the drawings was entrusted to the well-known lithographers, Messrs. W. Griggs and Son, Peckham, London, and has been carried out with the utmost care. In view of the high cost of colour-reproduction it was arranged with the firm that the seventy-six plates comprising Nos. V-LXXX of the present volume should appear in the first place in five issues of the *Journal of Indian Art,* only twenty-four out of the number being reproduced in colour and the rest in monochrome. The text which accompanied them is re-edited here with several additions and alterations. It does not pretend to be in any way exhaustive, but will help, it is hoped, to elucidate the history and meaning of the tile-mosaics which form the subject of the present volume.

My special thanks are due to Sir John Marshall for the vigorous support he has lent from the outset to the present work and for his care in seeing it through the press.

J. Ph. Vogel.

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TILE-MOSAICS OF THE LAHORE FORT

"But the sight of wonder is, when travelling over the plains of Persia or India, suddenly to come upon an encaustic-tiled mosque. It is coloured all over in yellow, green, blue, and other hues, and as a distant view of it is caught at sunrise. its stately domes and glittering minarets seem made of the purest gold, like glass, enamelled in azure and green, a fairy-like apparition of inexpressible grace and the most enchanting splendor."

(SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, Industrial Arts of India, Vol. II, p. 306.)

INTRODUCTION

The one hundred and sixteen panels of tile-mosaics reproduced in the present volume are found on the west and north walls of the Lahore Fort which contains the palace buildings of the Great Moghuls, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and consequently dates from the first half of the 17th century of our era.

This kind of wall decoration is unequalled for its variety of design and magnificence of colour. Introduced from Persia, it was largely resorted to for the brick buildings in the plains of Northern India, especially in the Panjab, the most famous specimens being found at Lahore, the capital of that province. To the sober taste of the Westerner this mode of decoration may appear too gay and gaudy to suit the nature of a building intended for religious worship or as a resting-place of the dead. But certainly no decorative art could be devised more truly oriental in the dazzling brilliancy of its colours, more bright and glowing in the splendour of an eastern sun.

The best known example in Lahore is the Mosque of Wazir Khan[1]. This building, situated in the heart of the ancient, brick-built city, has preserved on its façade and minarets the full glory of its gorgeous tile decoration.

The Chini-ka-Rauza[2] at Agra is also familiar to travellers in Hindustan and to lovers of oriental art. Other less celebrated specimens at Lahore are the Mosque of Da'i Anga[3], the wetnurse of the Emperor Shah Jahan; the gateway (known as

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1 J. L. Kipling, *The Mosque of Wazir Khan,* Lahore, J. I. A. No. 19 (July 1887); and F. H. Andrews, *ib.* (July 1903).

2 E. W. Smith, *Moghul colour decoration of Agra,* Part 1, Allahabad, 1901.

3 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for* 1904-5, pp. 20 f., plate IV.

Chauburji) of the Garden of Zebu-n-nisa or Zebinda Begam[1], the talented eldest daughter of Aurangzeb; that of the Gulabi Bagh or Rose Garden laid out by order of Mirza Sultan Beg; and the gateway (known as Chintgarh) belonging to the Tomb of 'Ali Mardan Khan, the great engineer and governor of Lahore. These buildings were all constructed between 1630 and 1660, and consequently belong to the reign of Shah Jahan, the most magnificent of the "Great Moghuls."

The imperial palace of Lahore outshines all these buildings by the truly princely magnitude of its colour decoration. A wall nearly 500 yards in length and 16 yards in height—in other words a surface of about 8,000 square yards—has been adorned with panels of tile-mosaics. What lends this work an uncommon interest, is the fact that here not only geometrical or foliated designs have been used, but, in defiance of the tenets of the Moslem creed, a great number of the panels exhibit figures of living beings.

I may note, here, that the prohibition of representing living beings is not found in the Quran[2]. It is based on the sacred tradition, or *hadith,* which says that "those who make images shall suffer the heaviest punishment on the day of resurrection" and that "the angels of grace enter not into a dwelling wherein there are images." The orthodox lawbooks are unanimous in endorsing this rule. They lay down that the making of effigies of beloved or revered persons is to be abhorred as the root of idolatry. Moreover, to portray created beings is, as it were, an imitation of the work of creation and cannot result in anything but caricature. Such emulation is unlawful in the sight of God and at the day of doom the luckless makers of images shall be called upon to breathe life into their creations.

Such is the theory, but in practice the law against the making of images has often been infringed. In fact, the very lawbooks had to make certain concessions and sometimes permitted effigies of living beings, so long as they were not made objects of veneration. In a dwelling-house such representations could be employed in a manner indicating disrespect, and a Moslem was allowed to enter a house thus decorated. As regards objects of daily usage also, the law was less strict. Cushions, for instance, could bear figures of living beings, as they are used to lean upon. Was it not believed that even the wife of the Prophet had such cushions made?

The Moghul rulers of India, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, made light of the orthodox point of view. At their court the art of miniature painting flourished and the court painters by no means restricted their efforts to lifeless objects. There exist portraits—evidently authentic—not only of every monarch of this dynasty but also of their ministers, governors and generals, and even of the favourite elephants from the royal stables. As to the authenticity of the portraits of their queens, Manucci warns us to be sceptical, and we know that, however liberal in

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1 As a poetess, she is known under the name Makhfi ("Concealed"). Her Diwan-i-Makhfi which was lithographed at Lucknow in A. H. 1284, has been partly translated into English by Magan Lal and Jessie D. Westbrook.

2 I follow Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje in his article: *Kusejr 'Amra und das Bilderverbot* in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXI (1907), pp. 186 ff. *Cf.* also the same author's *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-89. Vol. II, pp. 219 f. By "an image" (صورة) is to be understood any representation of a living being.

other respects, Akbar and his successors were not less strict than other eastern potentates where their Zenanas were concerned.

Numerous instances may be quoted of the utter disregard of these princes for the rules of orthodoxy. Visitors to Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri will remember the beautiful sculptured panels of red sand-stone on which animals are depicted in the midst of an Indian forest. Among the carvings which decorate the white marble cenotaph of the same monarch at Sikandarah birds and butterflies are introduced. There is, also, on the road from Agra to Sikandarah that quaint stone horse which tradition connects with the name of the great emperor and which, whatever its true history may be, is certainly a work of the Moghul period[1].

That Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, entertained but slight respect for the sacred tradition, no one will wonder. The English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, had occasion to notice that emperor's extreme fondness for pictures and his pride in the ability of his court painters[2]. Another more humble traveller of British nationality, the merchant William Finch, describes at great length the paintings which decorated some of Jahangir's palace buildings at Lahore, and which included portraits of the emperor himself, of his ancestors, his sons and his grandees. He adds that there were also pictures of Christ and of the Virgin Mary. I may mention here, that in the Musée du Louvre I noticed a miniature, apparently unidentified, which, as appears from the Persian inscription, شبیه حضرت جهانگیر باد شاه که شبیه حضرت اکبر بادشاه را می بیند represents Jahangir looking at a portrait of his father Akbar. The Delhi Museum collection contains a very beautiful miniature picture of Jahangir's state elephant, whose name 'Alam Guman (the "Arrogant of the Earth") also occurs in the Emperor's Memoirs[3]. Nor did Jahangir shrink from having animals carved in stone. For in his Memoirs he tells us of his pet antelope, Raj, on whose grave he set up a life-size statue of the animal together with a stone slab bearing a Persian epitaph. We also read of marble life-size statues of Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur and his son Karan made by order of Jahangir[4].

The Emperor Shah Jahan, more dignified than his father but as great a lover of art, had the throne in his audience hall at Delhi decorated with Florentine mosaics in which bright-feathered birds are most prominent, whilst the central plaque depicts Orpheus playing to the animals. A few years ago this remarkable work was brought back from England at the instance of Lord Curzon. At the main gate of the Delhi palace there stood a pair of life-size statues of elephants, the origin of which an early tradition recorded by Bernier ascribed to Akbar, but which more probably were fashioned at the command of his grandson, Shah Jahan. Similar elephant statues once existed at the entrance to the Moghul palaces of Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and elsewhere. The Delhi elephants were destroyed by order of Aurangzeb whose iconoclastic zeal is also held responsible for the sad mutilation of the sculptured panels of Fatehpur Sikri which we have mentioned above. For what reason the Delhi throne escaped a similar fate at the fanatic emperor's hands, we do not know.

1 Muhammad Latif, *Agra historical and descriptive*, p. 196.
2 Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer, *Travels in India*. London 1873, p. 38 f. ; *cf.* also p. 89 f., footnote.
3 *Memoirs of Jahangir* (transl. Rogers and Beveridge). Vol. I, pp. 259 f.
4 *Ibidem*, p. 332.

The numerous instances quoted above show that the introduction of figures of living beings in the decoration of the Moghul palace of Lahore can easily be accounted for by the inclinations of the imperial builders. But the fact remains that in this particular mode of decorative work—as far as my knowledge goes—such a choice of subjects is unique, at least in India. There are, it is true, the tomb of Madani in the capital of Kashmir, and the Nili Chhattri of Delhi, on both of which we find tiles with animal figures, but these are square tiles, different from the tile-mosaics of Lahore. Possibly, instances of the latter type occur outside India, notably in Persia, the true home of this decorative art[1].

This much we may certainly assume, that the *kashigars* who were entrusted with the colossal task of covering the wall of the Lahore Fort with faïence panels, struck out a new line, when, no doubt at the emperor's command, they undertook to enliven their work with the figures of men and beasts. It seems to me that the work itself clearly bears the stamp of its novelty. The geometrical or purely floral parts exhibit a great uniformity and show throughout that same excellence which we admire on other buildings of Lahore, like the Mosque of Wazir Khan, which is adorned in a similar manner.

Throughout, we observe that firmness of line and perfection of colour which can only be gained by lifelong experience and a fixed tradition. But where such uncommon subjects as elephant-fights and hunting scenes were to be rendered, the success depended entirely on the individual genius of the artisan. On a work of such magnitude, many workmen must have been employed, and it can easily be understood that, whereas in the purely decorative part of the work, such as the geometrical and foliated borders, they all displayed equal ability, the figured panels exhibit a very marked difference in artistic merit. Side by side with stately fairies and magnificent dragons of great purity in outline and colour, we find clumsy camels and horses which recall a child's first attempts at drawing. It is not unreasonable to assume that among the workmen both Hindus and Moslems were represented, and that, perhaps, the former may be held responsible for the elephants which figure so prominently on the pictured wall of Lahore, and which with but few exceptions are treated here with the same vigour as is usual in Indian art.

These elephants, so well suited for decorative designs, we may indeed claim as truly Indian. But for the rest, it is evident from the subjects no less than from the technique that the tile-mosaics of Lahore represent a branch of Persian art transferred to Indian soil. The subjects chosen are to a large extent the same as were favoured by the miniature painters of the Moghul court, and in the miniatures of the period the same strong Persian influence is clearly observable.

Can we discern any other foreign elements in this curiously varied wall-decoration? May the magnificent dragons (Plate LXIX, No. 92) under Jahangir's Khwabgah claim descent from the imperial beast of China, and were the quaint-looking cherubs (Nos. 15, 19, 20, 64, 86 and 90) perhaps copied from Italian pictures which had taken the fancy of the fastidious king? A special study might be devoted to several of the subjects figured on the pictured wall of Lahore, and it might

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[1] On one of the city gates of Qazwin there is said to be a representation of Rustam slaying the evil spirits, executed in *kashi* work *Cf.* F. M. Knobel, *Perzische schetsen*. Amsterdam, 1903, p. 43.

then become possible to decide what share the genius of different peoples may claim in this grand exhibition of decorative art. But such a task, however fascinating, lies beyond the scope of the present publication.

In view of the great variance in artistic merit noticeable in the Lahore tiles, it may, perhaps, be questioned whether the heavy outlay on reproduction might not have been partly saved by making a selection of the best panels alone. Or the poorer examples of figured mosaics might have been replaced by specimens of geometrical and foliated designs, some of which possess great beauty. This criticism would be perfectly justified, if we were guided here merely by aesthetic considerations. But the present work is in the first place archaeological. Not only the artistic, but in an equal degree the historical point of view had to be taken into account, and there can be no doubt that the historical interest of the figured panels is very considerable. Many of the scenes depicted illustrate the court-life of the Moghul sovereigns, their sports and their pastimes. Most prominent are those relating to elephant fights, which were one of the favourite recreations of the Moghul court; and one of the finest panels (No. 38) shows four horsemen playing the noble game of *chaugan*, nowadays known as polo. In the text accompanying the plates it has been my endeavour to comment on these scenes with the aid of passages drawn from contemporary historians and travellers.

The pictured wall of Lahore, therefore, is a lasting monument of the Great Moghuls, remarkable alike for the vastness and variety of its decoration, and more than any other of their buildings, it affords a striking illustration of their peculiar culture in which barbarism and refinement were so strangely blended.

CHAPTER I.—INDIAN TILEWORK[1]

The art of tile decoration, of which the Lahore palace affords so striking an example, did not originate in India. It is true that traces of such work have been found in the course of excavation of a few buildings of the pre-Muhammadan period, notably among the ruins of the famous pagoda of Kanishka at Peshawar[2]. But in this particular instance there is every reason to suspect foreign influence. It was not, apparently, until the Muhammadan period that tile decoration came into use in India, and even then it was almost exclusively restricted to buildings raised by the followers of Islam[3]. On the monuments of the earlier or Pathan period it is but sparingly employed. Under the rule of the Moghuls, on the contrary, it became one of the most favourite modes of architectural decoration. The finest example of the earlier period is the tomb of Ruknu-d-Din or Rukn-i-'Alam, the glory of Multan. The saint after whom it is named lived in the reign of Ghiyathu-d-Din (A. D. 1320-24), the first king of the Tughlaq dynasty of Delhi, and in that of his son Muhammad Shah (A. D. 1324-51).

The Rukn-i-'Alam, says Sir Alexander Cunningham[4], "is built entirely of red brick, bonded with beams of *sisu* wood, which are now much decayed. The whole of the exterior is elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels and string-courses and battlements. The only colours used are dark blue, azure, and white, but these are contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks, and the result is both effective and pleasing. These mosaics are not, like those of later days, mere plain surfaces, but the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the background. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome, but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern."

Similar tile decoration is found on the tombs of the Nahars, "the Wolves", a local Afghan dynasty which ruled at Sitpur in the Muzaffargarh district of the Western Panjab, apparently at the time of the Lodi kings of Delhi (15th century). In addition to the colours enumerated by Cunningham, we find yellow tiles used in the Sitpur buildings.

It is from about 1500, the commencement of the Moghul period, that tilework appears on the monuments of Delhi. One of the earliest examples is the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur. It must date from about A. D. 1517, the year in which that king died. The arches inside the tomb are embellished with bands of tilework in foliated and geometrical designs, and the spandrels contain rosettes in which blue tiles have been introduced. The entrance gate and the two kiosks in front show traces of square blue tiles; but here nearly all colour has gone.

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1 A list of buildings at Lahore and Delhi which are decorated with tilework is given in Appendix A.

2 *Archl. Survey, Annual Report for* 1908-9, pp. 55 f.

3 I know of only one example of a Hindu building decorated with tiles—a small Siva temple known as Nili Chhattri—outside the Salimgarh Fort at Delhi, but evidently these tiles are the spoils of some earlier Muhammadan edifice.

4 *Archl. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, p. 132; plate XXXIX.

Somewhat later in date are the tomb of Khwaja Khizr (A.D. 1524) at Sonepat, the battlements of which retain remnants of deep blue tile decoration, and that of Maulana Jamali, popularly known as Jamali-Kamali, not far from the Qutb at Old Delhi. The latter tomb is one of the most pleasing examples of early tilework found in the vicinity of Delhi. On the outside, a border of blue-and-white rectangular tiles of the Multan type runs in a single row between the sandstone brackets which support the eaves. The parapet has remnants of a foliated border, the cornice a narrow band of glazed blue bricks, and the battlements square blue tiles cut so as to fit between the projecting merlons. Round the doorway, also, there are traces of tile decoration in deep and light blue and in green. The interior of the tomb has a dado of tile-mosaic in a geometrical star pattern of deep and light blue, green and yellow. The upper portion of the wall and the ceiling are decorated with carved plaster, partly inlaid with blue and yellow tiling.

Another noticeable instance is afforded by the mausoleum of the Emperor Sher Shah, who died in 1545 A.D. at the siege of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand and was buried at Sahsaram in Bihar[1]. In the interior of his tomb we find colour decoration on the *mihrab*. The spandrels are adorned with arabesque ornament in raised stucco filled with dark blue tiles laid on the stone surface. Over it runs a band of Arabic inscriptions enclosed between four brackets. Round the large upper arch there are two decorative borders, the outer one with Arabic inscriptions and the inner one with tilework in geometrical designs, very similar to that in the Khairu-l-manazil at the Purana Qil'a and other buildings of Akbar's reign. Of the latter border only some portions are still extant; the pattern is a combination of triangles, octagons and stars. The colours used are cobalt blue, green, white and, perhaps, yellow. Outside, too, the domes of all pavilions and kiosks bear evident traces of colour decoration. On the outer wall of the building proper we notice remnants of very delicate stucco ornament in blue and green, in places where the bracketed eaves have served to shelter it. It is evident that Sher Shah's tomb, now so solemn in its uniform grey, must once have been bedecked with the brightest colours.

The tomb of Sher Shah's father, Hasan Sur, situated at a short distance from the former monument, must also once have been gorgeously decorated, though now it is sombre to a degree in the absence of any colouring. On the entrance gate there are still traces of blue tiles, and on the main building the patterns are still visible in the plaster. Inside also, round the spring of the dome, there runs a band of inscriptional ornament.

The tombs just described constitute an interesting transition from the early tile-work of the Pathan period to the more elaborate ornamentation of the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605). Some noticeable examples of the latter type are found in the vicinity of "the Old Fort" or Purana Qil'a which was the Delhi of the early Moghul emperors. Opposite the western gate of "the Old Fort" stands the Khairu-l-manazil, a ruined mosque (A. D. 1562), which still retains some fragments of brilliant tile mosaics of geometrical design in the spandrels over the central arch and also round

1 *Cf.* Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* Revised edition. London 1910, Vol. II, pp. 217 ff.

the three prayer niches or *mihrabs* with medallions containing the sacred *kalimah*[1]. Other examples in the same neighbourhood are the ruined tomb known as Nili Chhattri "the blue Pavilion", the entire outer surface of which appears once to have been decorated with geometrical and floral mosaics including inscriptions; and the Nila Gumbaz "the blue Dome" now used as a Police Station, near the village of Nizamu-d-Din Auliya. The latter building should perhaps be assigned to a somewhat later date on account of its high-necked dome. Among the wonderful collection of historic tombs grouped round the Dargah of Nizamu-d-Din, one of the most attractive is that of Akbar's foster-father Shamsu-d-Din Atgah Khan, surnamed A'zam Khan[2]. This building is adorned with faïence mosaics in which deep blue and green tiles are combined with white marble in geometrical patterns—a mode of decoration not found anywhere else. The building must date from A. D. 1567. The tile mosaics of Akbar's reign exhibit a scheme of five colours—deep and light blue, green, yellow and white; the designs are essentially geometrical.

The tile-work of Lahore represents, again, a later stage in the development of this mode of building decoration. It belongs to the 17th century and more especially to the reign of Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628-58), the period when Moghul art reached its greatest magnificence. At Lahore, I know of only one example of the 16th century, namely the tomb of Shaikh Musa Ahangar, or "Moses the Blacksmith", which with its brilliant blue dome greets travellers on their first arrival in the capital of the Panjab. The flat dome is faced with small glazed bricks, the drum with square blue-and-white tiles, and the body of the building with a frieze of tiles of the same shape and colour. Shaikh Musa, the patron-saint of the Lahore blacksmiths, died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and his tomb is said to have been built by that Emperor's mother[3].

The Lahore tile-work of Shah Jahan's reign is of a much richer and more elaborate kind. In most cases the entire façade of the building is decorated with faïence-mosaics arranged in rectangular and square sunk panels. Sometimes the surface remaining between those panels is covered with a layer of red-coloured plaster, in which by means of white lines the effect of brick and mortar is produced. This, for instance, is the case with portions of the Mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore City. The tiled panels display geometrical or more commonly foliated and floral patterns, enclosed within simple geometrical or scrolled borders. Very often the design consists of a flowering plant, a vase filled with flowers, or a dish of melons and other fruit. It will be noticed below that these vases occur, also, on tile-faced buildings in Persia, but are ultimately derived from China. According to Mr. Edmund Smith[4] they are seldom or never found on Indian edifices prior to the time of Jahangir's reign. The flowers represented are in most cases hard to identify owing to their shapes being conventionalized and their natural hue adapted to the

1 *Archl. Survey, Annual Report for* 1903-04, p. 25, plate XI.
2 *Archl. Survey, Annual Report for* 1903-04, p. 24, plate IX.
3 Thornton, *Lahore,* pp. 145, 148 and 151 calls this tomb Pathan and states that it was built in Akbar's reign. Latif, *Lahore,* pp. 204 and 393 asserts that Shaikh Musa died in A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519) and that his tomb was built in the time of Ibrahim Lodi, but quotes the A'in-i-Akbari where it is said that he died in the beginning of Akbar's reign. The latter statement is correct. *Cf. Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Lucknow 1875), p. 394.
4 *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra,* p. 14.

restricted scheme of five or six colours. Some panels contain inscriptions, either texts from the Quran in Arabic or foundation-poems in elegant Persian. The general character of the designs is closely related to that used in the fresco painting of the period, but the latter mode of decoration admitted of greater freedom and naturalism. This will be evident by comparing the tile-mosaics of Wazir Khan's mosque with the fresco painting inside the same building.

The spandrels over the arches usually display graceful designs of flowers and foliage intertwined with scrollwork; and along the battlements runs a border of the well-known *kangurah* or crenellated pattern. The domes of mosques and tombs are usually faced with tiles of a uniform colour, but in a few cases, such as the tomb of Da'i Anga, the wet-nurse of Shah Jahan, two colours are used. The mosque founded by the same lady, locally known as the Railway Mosque, is the only instance at Lahore known to me, in which tile-work is employed to decorate the interior of a building. This edifice, which for several years was utilised as a Traffic Superintendent's Office, has recently been restored to its original purpose.

Although the tile decoration of Shah Jahan's reign is nowhere better represented than in the capital of the Panjab, many isolated examples are met with in other places of Northern India. Thus, there is the Shahi Masjid belonging to the tomb of Shah Burhan at Chiniot in the Jhang district, and the Dakhani Sara'i in the Jalandhar district, built by 'Ali Mardan Khan about A.D. 1640. The Chiniwali Masjid at Thanesar in the Ambala district has its minarets and eastern façade covered with floral tile-mosaics. According to Rodgers[1], the date of the building is A.H. 973 or A.D. 1565-6. Sadhaura, a small town in the same district, possesses the Mosque of 'Abdu-l-Wahab, built in A. D. 1669, in the reign of Aurangzeb, the whole façade of which was once covered with tile-mosaics in floral patterns alternating with texts from the Quran.

That the art of tile decoration penetrated also into the district of Agra is evidenced by a few monuments. In the very heart of the sacred Hindu city of Mathura (*vulgo* Muttra) there rises the Jami' Masjid founded by 'Abdu-n-Nabi Khan, who was governor of Mathura from 1660 to 1668 under Aurangzeb. The date of its foundation (A. H. 1071 or A. D. 1660-1) is contained in a chronogram. "The building", Mr. Growse[2] writes, "is of considerable size and has four very lofty minarets, which with other parts of the fabric were once veneered with bright coloured plaster mosaics; but only a few panels now remain, and the whole of the mosque is rapidly becoming a ruin." It is interesting to note that 'Abdu-n-Nabi, the founder of this mosque, at the time of his being appointed to Mathura, was governor of Sirhind in the Panjab.

A much finer and more famous example of tile decoration is presented by the Chini-ka-Rauza "the China Tomb", which stands on the left bank of the Jamna and is well known among the Moghul buildings of Agra. It has been fully described and illustrated by Mr. Edmund Smith in one of his able monographs[3]. There is no inscription to tell the date of its erection, but tradition says that it contains the

1 *Revised list of objects of archaeological interest in the Punjab,* Lahore, pp. 49 f.
2 *Mathura,* 2nd ed. 1880, pp. 140 ff., and Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal,* for 1873, p. 12.
3 *Moghul colour decoration of Agra,* Part I, Allahabad.

remains of Afzal Khan, a poet, who died at Lahore in A.D. 1639. If this tradition is correct, we may here also suspect the influence of the Panjab, the home of Indian tile decoration. Mr. Smith, however, is of opinion that the Chini-ka-Rauza was not built until the reign of Aurangzeb, but he does not substantiate his view by any arguments.

Agra, or rather the neighbouring village of Sikandarah, possesses earlier specimens of tile decoration in the kiosks of Akbar's mausoleum and in the Kanch Mahall ("the Glass Palace"), said to have been built by the Emperor Jahangir for his queen, Jodh Ba'i. But in both cases the tile-work is of the earlier and plainer type found in buildings near Delhi.

It is noteworthy that in the later examples of Indian tile-work we find the faïence mosaics again replaced by square tiles. This is, for instance, the case with the mosque of Begampura near Lahore, which was built by Zakariyya Khan, surnamed Khan Bahadur, who was governor of the Panjab under Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1719-48). Another example of the same period is the now ruined mosque founded near Lahore by Muhammad Amin, who, according to Latif[1], was an *amir* at the court of the same Zakariyya Khan. It is curious that square tiles occur also, side by side with tile-mosaics, on a much earlier building, namely the tomb of Asaf Khan, the brother of Jahangir's famous queen Nur-Jahan. Asaf Khan, like his imperial sister, was buried at Shahdara near Lahore, close to Jahangir's mausoleum. The square and rectangular tiles are arranged in slightly sunk rectangular panels, the pattern consisting of flowering stalks of irises and tiger-lilies enclosed within scrollwork on a yellow background[2]. We need not assume that in the present case the square tiles are a later addition, for about the same period we find them used in Persia also.

It seems, indeed, that throughout the history of Indian tile-work square tiles have been known, and that the employment of tesselated tiles was a temporary fashion followed in the 16th and 17th centuries, and more particularly during the period from about 1550 to about 1650 covered by the reigns of the great Moghul builders—Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. During the reign of Aurangzeb there are only the isolated instances which have been quoted above, and in the 18th century the use of square tiles appears to have become universal.

That the use of square tiles was not limited to the expiring days of Moslem architecture in India is also proved by a curious instance of tile decoration found on a building of about the middle of the 15th century, which exists at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. It was first noticed by my late colleague, Mr. W. H. Nicholls, whose description I wish to quote in full[3].

"The tile-work at the tomb of Madani, near But Kadal in Srinagar, is made in squares with various brilliant colours in contact with each other on the same piece of tile. But its great interest lies in the subject which is represented in the southern half of the spandrel of the great archway in the east façade. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that animal life was rarely represented in any form

1 Latif, *Lahore*, p. 213.
2 Some specimens may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
3 *Archl. Survey, Annual Report for* 1906-7, pp. 162 f., plates LVII—LIX.

of decoration during Muhammadan rule in India. Akbar did not object to statues of horses [Sikandarah] and elephants [Fatehpur Sikri and Agra Fort]; Jahangir allowed birds and butterflies to be carved [Akbar's tomb], and Shah Jahan also had elephants set up [Delhi Fort], and at Lahore Fort he indulged in a panelled frieze, representing elephant fights and other subjects, all in tile-work. Aurangzeb was a bigot, who not only would have none of animal life in any form on his buildings, but took a delight in smashing any examples of it which came to his notice whether on Hindu or Muhammadan buildings. It is fortunate, indeed, that he never chanced to see the tomb of Madani when he was at Srinagar. His indignation would surely have been roused at finding, on the tomb of a Muhammadan saint, a representation of a beast with the body of a leopard, changing at the neck into the trunk of a human being, shooting apparently with a bow and arrow at its own tail, while a fox is quietly looking on among flowers and cloudforms. These peculiar cloudforms are common in Chinese and Persian art, and were frequently used by the Mughals, by Akbar in the Turkish Sultana's House at Fatehpur Sikri, Jahangir at Sikandarah, and Shah Jahan in the Diwan-i-khass at Delhi, to mention only a few instances.

"The principal beast in the picture is about four feet long, and is striking quite an heraldic attitude. The chest, shoulders, and head of the human being are unfortunately missing. The tail ends in a kind of dragon's head. As for the colours, the background is blue, the trunk of the man is red, the leopard's body is yellow with light green spots, the dragon's head and the fox are reddish brown, and the flowers are of various colours. It is most probable that, if this beast can be run to earth, and similar pictures found in the art of other countries, some light will be thrown upon the influences bearing upon the architecture of Kashmir during a period about which little is at present known. Besides this spandrel there is some more tile-work in the building. The jambs of the archway are lined with squares of tiles, many of which have fallen out and been put back in the wrong place. None of these are of particular interest except that they show that tilework was used on masonry buildings in Kashmir before Mughal days. There is, however, an interesting narrow border, above the dado on the east façade, representing a flowing floral pattern interwoven with the heads of donkeys and lions.

"We are fortunate in knowing within narrow limits the date of this building. It joins on to the mosque of Madani, a building the roof of which is in the wooden style which will be discussed presently. As both the buildings are in memory of the same person, it is likely that they were built about the same time, and a well-preserved inscription over the doorway of the mosque records that it was built in the year A.H. 848 (A.D. 1444). This falls within the reign of Zainu-l-'abidin."

For the tile-work of Sind we may refer to the portfolio published by Mr. Henry Cousens, late of the Archaeological Survey of India[1]. According to Mr. Cousens, the earliest examples of Sind tiles do not probably date back beyond the end of the 15th century. The chief place of manufacture is Hala. It is curious that the workmen (here also called *kashigar*) claim descent from some Chinese ancestor who

1 Henry Cousens, *Portfolio of illustrations of Sind tiles*. W. Griggs & Sons, Ltd., 1906.

was induced by one of the *Amirs* to settle in Sind. In the Panjab, also, local tradition ascribes the introduction of tilework to Chinese workmen[1]. In the earlier Sind examples, like the Dabgir Mosque (c. 1509 A. D.) and Mirza Jani Beg's tomb (c. 1599 A.D.), we find two colours, namely deep rich blue and pale turquoise blue on a white ground. In later buildings, such as the Talpur tombs (A. D. 1783-1843), additional colours—green, brown, orange and purple, have been introduced. The Sind tiles appear to be closely related to those of Multan. "In Sind and at Multan", Mr. Cousens remarks, "it [*i.e.* the body of the tile] is hard baked red terra-cotta, whereas the later Panjab tiles, as represented upon the mosque of Wazir Khan and the Fort at Lahore, are of an altogether different make, being made up of a composition of silicious sand with lime and other ingredients, held together with some cementing material"[2].

I have remarked above that the art of tile-work was introduced into India from Persia where for many centuries it formed the chief decoration of brick buildings. It is generally held that the term *kashi* by which tile-work and faïence in general are indicated not only in Persia but also in Northern India, was derived from the name of the town of Kashan in 'Iraq. It is true that the potters of both Kashan and Kum in the same province enjoyed great celebrity[3], and the form *kashani*, which is used in the same sense as *kashi*, would seem to point even more clearly to some connection with the name of the town first mentioned[4]. According to Professor M. Th. Houtsma, however, it is more reasonable to derive *kashi* from the Persian *kash* meaning "glass". The word, therefore, would originally mean "glazed". Anyhow, there can be no doubt that the words *kashi* and *kashigar* "a potter" are Persian and thus confirm the Persian origin of Indian tile-work.

In Persia also a great variety of style is noticeable in buildings of different periods[5]. In general, it may be said that in the earlier examples geometrical designs are used and the prevalent colour is blue. This, for instance, is the case with the famous Blue Mosque of Tabriz built by Jahan Shah (1437-68) and with the Masjid-i-maidan at Kashan of the 13th or 14th century. It is interesting that in the earliest Indian tile-work, that of Multan, too, the colours are blue and white and the patterns exclusively geometrical.

Another famous example of early tile-work is the Gor-i-Amir "the Grave of the Chief", *i.e.* the Mausoleum of the Great Timur (*alias* Tamerlane) built in his capital Samarkand in A.D. 1370. It was constructed by Persian artisans and under an architect, Muhammad ibn Mahmud of Isfahan, who is mentioned by name in one of the inscriptions on the edifice. The high drum and melon-shaped

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1 *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. II, 17.

2 A chemical analysis of the *kashi*-tiles of Lahore will be found in Appendix B.

3 Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Cambridge 1905, p. 209.

4 In Egypt also facing-tiles are known by the name of *Kishani* said to be derived from the town of Kishan (*i.e.* Kashan) in Persia. *Cf.* Max Herz Bey, *Descriptive Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1907, p. 215. The author (p. 211) comments on the remarkably limited use of enamelled tiles in Egyptian buildings of the Moslem period.

5 The following observations regarding Persian tile-work are largely derived from Friedrich Sarre's monumental work: *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1901.

dome are covered with glazed bricks of dark blue, light blue and white. The courtyard is decorated with faïence mosaics of a different style, similar to those found on Persian monuments of the beginning of the 15th century and probably executed about that time.

The tile-work of Delhi and Lahore is evidently derived from a later type of Persian faïence, namely that which was in vogue in the 16th and 17th centuries under the great rulers of the Safawi dynasty (A.D. 1502-1736), who were contemporaneous with the Great Moghuls of India. As early as the 15th century examples of this style of *kashi* work occur on Persian buildings. Sarre reproduces a piece of faïence mosaic which he acquired at Teheran, but which was said to originate from the famous Mosque of Imam Riza at Meshed (Mashad). This specimen is similar in design to Lahore tile-work and has the same scheme of colour, including crimson. The mosque of Meshed is said to be contemporaneous with the Blue Mosque of Tabriz, but some portions were added by the rulers of the Safawi house.

The Persian section of the Musée du Louvre contains a "Plaque de faïence de revetement" originating from a mosque at "Tauris" (*i.e.* Tabriz) of the 15th century. This specimen also exhibits exactly the same style as the *kashi* work of Lahore. It contains a fragmentary Arabic inscription in white letters interlaced with yellow flowers and stalks of turquoise blue on a dark-blue background. It is interesting to note the difference between this piece of Persian tile-mosaic and the earlier work of the 14th century—the large lustre tiles with letters and ornaments in relief, turquoise blue on a ground of white and gold.

A building of exceptional interest in the history of Persian tile decoration is the Mausoleum of Shaikh Safiu-d-Din at Ardebil in Azarbijan, half-way between the Caspian Sea and the volcano Sawalan Dagh. Shaikh Safi, the progenitor of the Safawi house, lived in the first half of the 14th century. The Mausoleum built by his son contains not only the Saint's grave, but the graves also of Isma'il the first Safawi king and his three successors. From 'Abbas the Great (1587-1629) onwards the Persian kings were buried at Kum, but still regarded the Mausoleum of Ardebil as their national sanctuary The tile-work was commenced in the 16th century and completed under 'Abbas II (1642-1667), and therefore coincides with the great period of this decorative art in India.

The Saint's tomb itself—a tower-like building circular in plan and surmounted by a flat dome—is faced with red and blue glazed bricks. This mode of decoration is quite different from that of the Moghul period, but seems related to that of the Rukn-i-'Alam of Multan. The decoration of the prayer-room also differs from Indo-Moghul work, both as regards design and colour. Black and dark green, not found in India, are prominent.

The entrance gateway, however, which was built in the reign of 'Abbas II and completed in A. D. 1647-48, as recorded by an inscription in tile-work, is profusely decorated with faïence mosaics closely related to those found on the monuments of Hindustan. "The spandrels contain light-coloured flower stalks interlaced with arabesques on a dark ground. The inscription, which consists of white letters interlaced with slim spiral tendrils on a dark-blue ground, is surmounted by a

frieze of rectangular panels with a stalactite decoration above. In these panels the arabesque disappears almost completely, and in their stead we find the flower-stalk mostly issuing from a vase and filling the arched area of the panel. These rounded vases are likewise conventionalized and have a foot in the shape of a pointed leaf resembling a Persian palmette. These are derived from Chinese examples and are found in Persian art from the middle of the 16th century, also on carpets of the period—the so-called vase-carpets" (Sarre). We have noticed above that such flower-vases are a common feature in the tile-mosaics of Lahore. Sarre remarks that Chinese influence makes itself felt in Persian art from the 16th century onward—in ceramic art, in carpets and in miniature painting.

It is not a little curious that on the same gate of the mosque of Ardebil we find a panel in which the Chinese vase is placed between two peacocks—a device which, as Sarre observes, is very frequent in Byzantine art. The famous Basilica of Torcello near Venice affords an example in the exquisite panel ornaments of its chancel screen—"groups of peacocks and lions, two face to face on each panel, rich and fantastic beyond description, though not expressive of very accurate knowledge either of leonine or pavonine forms"[1]. I may add that the same device is also very common in Hindu sculptures of the Western Himalaya, especially on the carved fountain-stones of Chamba State, but—strange to say—in Indian tilework it does not occur[2].

An inscription on the gate of Shaikh Safi's mausoleum mentions the name of Juh ibn Isfahani as the architect of the building. At Isfahan, the capital of the Safawi kings, we find several more examples of that faïence decoration which rose to such prominence during their reign. The mosque of Shaikh Lutfullah, situated on the east side of the famous Maidan, was built under Shah 'Abbas the Great in the beginning of the 17th century. The entrance gate resembles that of the Mausoleum of Ardebil, but is only partly decorated with real mosaics. "Only the upper portion of the niche", Sarre remarks, "with the stalactite vault and the inscription band shines in the brilliant colours of the faïence mosaics, contrasting strongly with the faint colours of the [square] tiles beneath which were first glazed and subsequently painted."

In the Madrasah Madar-i-Shah or "College of the Queen-Mother" situated on the east side of the Chahar Bagh at Isfahan we find, also, mostly square tiles side by side with faience mosaics. It was built in A. D. 1710 by Shah Husain in memory of his mother, and is one of the latest examples of decorative tile-work found in Persia.

The growing use of square tiles during the 17th century was evidently due to the greater facility of this *procédé* compared with the laborious, but much more effective art of tesselated tiles, in which each piece had to be cut to its proper shape. The change, therefore, marks a decided degeneration, though an attempt was made to imitate in the square tiles the designs of the old mosaics.

It follows from the above that throughout its history the Indian art of tile decoration has closely followed the examples furnished by Iran. We may perhaps

1 John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, London 1906, Vol. II, pp. 19 f.
2 *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, plates IV and XXVII.

assume that the introduction of the peculiar kind of *kashi* work which we find so abundantly employed at Lahore in the first half of the 17th century was in some measure due to the patronage of two powerful Persian nobles at the Moghul court—Asaf Khan and 'Ali Mardan Khan—both of whom were governors of the Panjab. This much is certain, that in several of the tiled panels on the Lahore Fort the Persian character of this art is very evident, particularly in those which depict horses, whose thick-set body, curved neck and small head present a shape familiar from Persian miniatures (Plate VII, No. 3, etc.). It would also seem that the artists of the Lahore Fort were more at home in portraying the Bactrian camel than the dromedary of Northern India.

It would carry us too far to trace the history of tile decoration in Persia and neighbouring countries further back than has been attempted in the above sketch. One point only deserves to be mentioned in this connection. In the course of our account it has been noticed that in Persian art Chinese influence makes itself felt from the 16th century onwards, and that this influence is especially noticeable in certain decorative devices found in the tile-mosaics of the period. Now it is curious that about 1500 A. D. we find at Samarkand a tradition that the art of decorative tile-work had been introduced from China. For this we have the authority of no less a personage than the Emperor Babar, the conqueror of India and first of the Great Moghuls. In his Memoirs, while describing the famous buildings of Samarkand, the august writer says[1]: "In this garden there is another state pavilion, the walls of which are overlaid with porcelain of China, whence it is called the Chinese House. It is said that a person was sent to China for the purpose of bringing it."

We have seen above that a tradition regarding the Chinese origin of decorative tile-work was carried also to India. This accounts for such terms as Chini-ka-Rauza and Chiniwali Masjid which in the course of our survey we have found applied to a building at Agra and one at Thanesar, with evident reference to their tile decoration. Some of the tiles on the Lahore Fort also show certain features which seem to point to Chinese influence. Very often we find empty spaces filled with so-called "Chinese clouds" which are also so common in the *pietra dura* work found in Moghul buildings of Shah Jahan's reign. The magnificent blue-and-white dragons too in the spandrels right under Jahangir's Bari Khwabgah (Plate LXIX, No. 92) suggest some remote parentage with the imperial emblem of China, though it will be shown in the sequel that at the court of the Great Moghul also the dragon had a distinct emblematic significance.

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1 *Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, first of the Great Moguls,* by Lieut.-Col. F. G. Talbot, London 1909, p. 32.

CHAPTER II.—THE LAHORE FORT [1]

The palace of the Great Moghuls at Lahore does not enjoy as great a celebrity as those of Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi. It should be remembered that Lahore was only a secondary capital of the Moghul empire. In the 18th century it was hardly used as a royal residence, though we may assume that the governors of the Panjab resided in it. From the time of the Afghan invasions the the king of Delhi lost all influence in this province. For a short period the splendour of sovereignty was revived within the ancient walls, when Ranjit Singh united the scattered Sikh forces in his powerful grasp and made Lahore his capital (1799). The death of the 'Lion of Lahore' (1839) was soon followed by the annexation of the Panjab (1849), and from that time the Fort was garrisoned by British troops.

Though most people will agree with Bernier that the palace of Lahore does not display the same magnificence as those of Agra and Delhi, it possesses no small amount of interest, both architectural and historical. Whereas the Delhi palace was entirely built on one plan and at one time and consequently excels by unity and clearness of composition, it does not exhibit that curious variety of style observable in the Lahore buildings, which were commenced by Akbar, continued by Jahangir and completed by Shah Jahan, and which comprise, also, a few remnants of the ephemeral Sikh rule.

The early Moghul edifices built of profusely sculptured red sandstone are distinguished by features of Hindu architecture—such as brackets with figures of elephants and lions, and friezes of peacocks—which are characteristic of the tolerant rule of Akbar and Jahangir. The magnificent Shah Jahan indulged in the use of white marble adorned in the Tuscan fashion with floral designs of agate, cornelian and lapis lazuli.

The only portion of the Fort which may perhaps be ascribed to Aurangzeb is the gate facing the Hazuri Bagh and the Badshahi Masjid or Imperial Mosque, which was built by this emperor in A. D. 1673 [2]. The later Moghuls do not seem to have contributed to the Lahore palace. The few additions due to Ranjit Singh and his short-reigned successors are easily recognizable by their gaudy and barbaric splendour. It must, however, be admitted that, though their attempts at embellishing the Moghul palace have had the contrary effect, there is here no evidence of that vandalism which in the days of Sikh rule spoiled so many a venerable monument in the neighbourhood of Lahore.

The historical associations of the Lahore Fort will be best remembered in connexion with the various buildings which it contains. But before embarking on a detailed account of these, it is desirable to review the literary sources from which our knowledge is derived.

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1 This chapter with some additions has appeared under the tile: "*Historical notes on the Lahore Fort*" in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. I (1911), pp. 38 ff.

2 The pavilion known as Naulakha has been ascribed to Aurangzeb, but without authority.

The European travellers who had occasion to visit Lahore in the course of the 17th century do not contribute much to our knowledge of the Moghul palace and its buildings. In general their notes on Lahore are lamentably brief, as compared with what they tell us regarding the Delhi and Agra forts. It is true that William Finch, who spent several months of the year 1611 at Lahore, devotes some pages to a description of this city, in which the palace is treated with considerable detail[1]. But his account does not convey a clear idea of the various courts (most of which are no longer traceable) and of their relative positions. Finch dwells on certain pictures representing Jahangir, with his ancestors and nobles, among which he notes a picture of Christ and one of the Virgin Mary. These pictures have, wrongly I believe, been identified with the tile-mosaics which are published in the present volume.

Later on, I shall have occasion to revert to this question. Here it will be sufficient to add that Finch's description of the city of Lahore and of the palace which it contains was copied first by Joannes de Laet (in Latin translation) and subsequently, in an abbreviated and partly corrupted form, by Sir Thomas Herbert. Thevenot, in his turn, seems to have copied Herbert[2]. From these authors it would appear as if the Fort of Lahore had twelve gates, three on the side of the town and nine towards the country. But a perusal of the corresponding passage of Finch will show that in speaking of "the castle" he means the fortified city. The twelve gates in question are consequently the city gates which are preserved, some in name alone, up to the present day[3].

Manucci, who was settled at Lahore for some time as a successful "Farangi doctor", has left us a chapter on the origin and description of that city, but does not include the palace in his account. Elsewhere he makes occasional mention of the Lahore Fort, but considering his opportunities, the information he supplies is remarkably meagre.

François Bernier[4], the physician of Aurangzeb, who has left us such an accurate and lively description of the Delhi palace, despatches that of Lahore in a few lines, though he stayed for more than two months in this town on his way to Kashmir (1683). Tavernier[5] gives nothing but a resume of Bernier's account of the capital of the Panjab.

The narratives of the European writers who visited Lahore during the Sikh period are hardly more satisfactory. Dr. J. M. Honigberger[6], who resided at Lahore as physician to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and must have known the locality

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1 *Purchas his pilgrimes*. Vol. IV, pp. 52 ff. Finch arrived at Lahore on the 4th February 1611 (p. 51) and was there still on the 18th August of that year (p. 58).

2 Joannes de Laet, *De imperio Magni Mogolis sive India vera commentarius e variis auctoribus*. Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden] 1631. T. Herbert, *Some years travels into Africa and Asia the Great, especially describing the famous empires of Persia and Indostan*. London 1638. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*. London 1687. Part III, p. 60. Latif, *Lahore*, p. 119, in quoting Herbert, wrongly says that the latter visited Lahore in 1626. The truth is that Herbert never visited Lahore at all.

3 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 185; *cf.* Latif, *Lahore*, p. 85, where the number of gates is given as 13.

4 *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1699, Vol. II, p. 156.

5 *Six voyages*, Paris 1678, Vol. II, p. 64.

6 *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande*, Vienna 1851, pp. 585 f. English transl.: *Thirty-five years in the East*, London 1852. Vol. I, p. 198.

very well, has published a view of the citadel of Lahore to which is added a brief explanatory note with the names of some of the buildings in and around the Fort. The traveller William Moorcroft[1], who visited the city of Lahore on the 13th May 1820 under the guidance of the Governor Faqir Nuru-d-Din, devotes a page to the Fort in which he gives a general idea of the aspect of the palace during Sikh rule. "Ranjit Singh", he says, "has cleared away some of the rubbish, and has repaired or refitted some of the ruined buildings of Jehangir and Shah-jehan; but his alterations have not always been made with good feeling or taste." He was the first to notice the tile decoration on the Fort wall.

I may note here that we possess an excellent map of the Lahore Fort dating from the Sikh period. The original, which belonged to the late Faqir Qamru-d-Din, son of Faqir Nuru-d-Din just mentioned, has been copied and reproduced several times[2].

It is strange that, ever since the British occupation has afforded better opportunities for the study of the Lahore palace, the subject has received so little attention. Mr. J. H. Thornton[3] included a brief description of the Fort in his handy guide-book to Lahore. He fully recognized the importance of the tile decoration on the Fort wall as by far the most remarkable feature of the palace. But for the rest his account, which is mainly based on local tradition, is insufficient both as regards the architecture and the history of the buildings.

Muhammad Latif[4] in his work on the antiquities of Lahore adds very little to Mr. Thornton's description. He consulted, it is true, native historians, but did not utilize them to the extent he might have done. In quoting Sir Thomas Herbert, he changed both spelling and wording of the passage and drew wrong conclusions from it. In Jahangir's inscription in the Fort he read the year as A. H. 1007 instead of 1027.

It is gratifying that, while the narratives of European travellers and writers do such scant justice to the Lahore palace, we possess some very full and remarkably accurate notices in the works of Muhammadan historians of the 17th century. I may recall particularly the Badshah Namah by Mulla 'Abdu-l-Hamid and the 'Amal-i-salih by Muhammad Salih. Both these authors were citizens of Lahore. The passages relating to the Lahore Fort from these and other works have been collected and discussed with much judgment by Maulvi Nur Bakhsh in an able paper published in the first Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India[5]. In the light of these contemporary accounts several statements of later writers have had to be corrected or modified.

The researches of Nur Bakhsh have enabled us to make a clear distinction between the early Moghul buildings raised by Akbar and Jahangir and those added by Shah Jahan. The Fort contains two Persian inscriptions, relating to

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1 W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, etc.*, London 1841, Vol. I, p. 104.

2 Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments, Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VI (1896). *India*; *photographs and drawings of historical buildings*, London 1896. No. 77. The plan was traced in 1883 in Major Cole's Office.

3 *Lahore*, Lahore 1876, pp. 53 ff.

4 *Lahore*; *its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lahore 1892, pp. 119 ff.

5 *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report*, 1902-03, Calcutta 1904, pp. 218-224.

these two building periods. One, dated in the twelfth year of Jahangir's reign or A.H. 1027 (A.D. 1617-18), records the completion of the early Moghul palace by Ma'mur Khan. It has been rendered: "In the twelfth year of the blessed accession of His Imperial Majesty, the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, a Kayumarth in state, an Alexander in arms, the asylum of the Caliphate, the Emperor Nuru-d-Din Jahangir, the son of the Emperor Jalalu-d-Din [Akbar], the Champion of the Faith, corresponding to A.H. 1027, the building of this auspicious palace was completed under the superintendence of his most humble disciple and slave—the devoted servant Ma'mur Khan."

The second inscription painted over the Elephant Gate (Hathi Pol) is dated in the fourth year of Shah Jahan or A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1631-32) and contains the praise of the Shah Burj or Royal Tower completed in that year. It runs as follows:—

"The king, a Jamshed in dignity, a Solomon in grandeur, a Saturn in state,
"Who has carried the banners of his glory beyond the sky and the sun,
"The second Lord of Constellation[1], Shah Jahan, to whom in justice and generosity Naushirwan is no equal nor Faridun a peer,
"Ordered a Royal Tower (Shah Burj) to be erected which for its immense height
"Is like Divine Throne beyond imagination and conception.
"In purity, height, elegance and airiness, such a tower
"Has never appeared from the castle of the sky nor will.
"The sincere servant and faithful disciple, 'Abdu-l-Karim,
"After the completion of the building devised this date.
"For ever like the fortune of this king, a Jamshed in arms,
"May this auspicious lofty tower remain safe from destruction!
"A.H. 1041, the 4th year of the Accession"[2].

Nur Bakhsh has rightly pointed out that this Shah Burj is no other than the Saman Burj which occupies the north-west corner of the Fort. This is evident from the very accurate description of this part of the palace by 'Abdu-l-Hamid in his Badshah Namah. Mr. Thornton's assumption that the inscription refers to some other tower which has disappeared is, therefore, to be rejected[3].

Ma'mur Khan, the architect mentioned in the first inscription, is one and the same person as 'Abdu-l-Karim, who, according to the other, was the builder of the Shah-Burj. This is evident from the Memoirs of Jahangir where it is recorded that the Emperor in March 1617 "promoted 'Abdu-l-Karim to the rank of 800 personal and 400 horse, and dignified him with the title of Ma'mur Khan ('Lord Architect')", after his having completed certain buildings at Mandu[4].

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1 Sahib-i-Qiran, *i.e.*, one born under an auspicious conjunction of Jupiter and Venus; a fortunate and invincible king. It is the title of Timur. The Emperor Shah Jahan is called Sahib-i-Qiran-i-Thani, *i.e.* "the second Sahib-i-Qiran".

2 *Public inscriptions at Lahore, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 310, 312: Latif, *Lahore,* p. 121.

3 Mr. Thornton, *Lahore,* p. 56, remarks: "It is by no means certain that the building which, turning to the left, after passing the Moti Masjid the visitor has now entered is that to which the name [of Saman Burj] was originally applied. Report says that there was another lofty tower, detached from the main building which was so called; and unless the language of the inscription on the Hathi-paun (*read* Haṭhi pol] Gateway is inordinately hyperbolical, it seems to point to some such conclusion."

4 *Memoirs of Jahangir* (transl. Rogers and Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 368; *cf.* also p. 280 and II, p. 183.

The plan of the Shah Burj had been executed by Yaminu-d-daulah Asaf Khan, who had been appointed governor of Lahore in the year 1625. Besides this building Shah Jahan erected the large hall of the Diwan-i-'amm, for which he had issued orders in the first year of his reign.

Muhammad Salih mentions that in 1633 Shah Jahan ordered the construction of a new Ghusl-khanah and Khwabgah under the supervision of Wazir Khan, the physician and governor of Lahore, whose name is best known in connection with the magnificent mosque which he founded in that city.

We read, again, in the Badshah Namah that in November 1644 the Emperor inspected a marble edifice overlooking the river Ravi which had recently been completed and was probably one of the two buildings ordered eleven years before. I presume that it is the same as the marble pavilion now known as Chhoti Khwabgah.

It will be seen from the plan (Plate II) that the Lahore Fort has roughly the shape of a rectangle measuring 1,250 by 1,100 feet. The main gates are in the centre of the west and east walls. A glance at the plan will show that the orientation of the western gate is not in agreement with that of the Fort and the buildings which it contains. The position of the gate is evidently determined by that of the Hazuri Bagh enclosure which in its turn must have been built in connection with the Imperial Mosque or Badshahi Masjid of Aurangzeb. There can be little doubt that the Hazuri Bagh enclosure was constructed as a fore-court to the Mosque and, at the same time, as a link between the mosque and the palace. Latif may be right in saying that originally it served the purpose of a *sara'i* and was only made into a garden by Ranjit Singh. The well-known *baradari* in the centre, built from the spoils of Muhammadan tombs, is certainly a monument of the famous Sikh soldier-king, who often held his *darbar* in it[1].

Latif calls the western gate to the Fort the Akbari Darwazah and asserts that it was built by and named after the Emperor Akbar. But from what has been remarked above it follows that this gate cannot be anterior to the Imperial Mosque which was built in A.D. 1673. The style also points to the date indicated. The name Hazuri Bagh Darwazah seems, therefore, more appropriate. The eastern gate which leads into the City is called Masti Darwazah or "Gate of Intoxication".

Since the British occupation, both the main gates have been bricked up, and access to the fortress is now gained through a postern dating from the year 1853, behind which rises the gorgeously decorated Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate which will be fully described later on. It once formed a private entrance to the apartments occupied by the emperor and his ladies. At present a ramp of modern military construction leads along the back of the Moti Masjid to the centre of the Fort.

From the so-called Akbari Darwazah a curiously twisted passage led up to the western entrance of the great quadrangle of the Diwan-i-'amm which measured 730 by 460 feet and was enclosed on four sides by a range of vaulted chambers with central gateways on the west, south and east sides. Of this large cloister

1 Honigberger, *op. cit.* p. 586, No. 8.

nothing now remains except the little court in front of the Pearl Mosque. The front wall of this court formed part of the west side of the large enclosure, and still conveys some idea of its appearance. Its destruction for military purposes is the more to be deplored by the antiquarian, as this arcade must have been one of the oldest portions of the Lahore Palace. There is reason to suppose, as Nur Bakhsh has pointed out, that it existed already in the reign of Akbar, as the number of bays shown on the map of the Sikh period very closely agrees with that of one hundred and fourteen mentioned by Al Bada'oni in his account of the celebration of the New Year's day by Akbar on the 29th December, 1587.

Over the entrance to the little court-yard just referred to is a white marble slab with the inscription of Jahangir which records the completion of the palace in A.D. 1617-18 by Ma'mur Khan. This inscription, it should be noted, does not refer to the construction of the Pearl Mosque, as Latif seems to assume. The term *daulat-khanah* literally "House of Fortune" denotes a palace and not a mosque. The palace in question consisted, evidently, of the large quadrangle of the Diwan-i-'amm constructed by Akbar and of the smaller square adjoining it to the north, which is now usually designated the Quadrangle of Jahangir. These, no doubt, are the two courts, mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert "pointing out two wayes, one to the King's Durbar and Jarneo (where hee daily shewes himselfe unto his people), the other to the Devon-Kawn or great Hall (where every eve from eight to eleven he discourses with his Umbraves)"[1].

The open pillared hall which projects into the large court from the centre of the north side is the Diwan-i-'amm. It has been remarked above that this building owes its origin to Shah Jahan, who ordered its construction in the first year of his reign at the same time as that of a similar edifice in the Agra Fort. The Court chronicler Mulla 'Abdu-l-Hamid of Lahore states that during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir the courtiers who attended the daily public audience of the Emperor, were protected against rain and sunshine by an awning. But Shah Jahan ordered that a hall of forty pillars should be built in front of the *jharoka* of the Daulat khanah-i-khass-o-'amm. The *jharoka* (the *jarneo* of Sir Thomas Herbert!) is the balcony-throne on which the Emperor daily made his public appearance.

The forty-pillared hall (the ten forming the last row are in reality pilasters) known as the Diwan-i-'amm must appeal to our curiosity as one of the first creations of the magnificent Shah Jahan. But it is disappointing to find that the whole superstructure as well as the pavement is modern, whilst the red sandstone shafts do not fit on the carved bases. Yet an interesting feature is preserved in the remnants of a white marble railing which once connected the outer row of pillars. The large platform on which the hall is raised was enclosed by a second railing of red sandstone, of which a large portion is still extant. All travellers who witnessed the daily court of the Great Moghul refer to these railings which separated the different classes of nobles in attendance.

After the British occupation the ancient throne hall of Shah Jahan was turned into a barrack. The outer archways were bricked up and the building enclosed

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1 Umbraves or Omerahs (as Bernier has it) is Arabic *umara* the plural of *amir* "a Lord".

within a verandah. A few years ago, these unsightly excrescences were removed, but even now this barren building, silent and solitary in the midst of a dusty barrack-yard, is only a skeleton of the imperial hall of Shah Jahan in the days of its splendour, when the descendant of Timur sat on the marble throne, and the hall and the adjoining court were hung with banners and tapestry and thronged with *amirs* and *rajas* in rich attire, the whole affording a rare spectacle of kingly magnificence.

The back of the edifice just described overlooks the lesser quadrangle apparently known in Sikh times as Akbari Mahall, but generally attributed to Jahangir. It belongs, in any case, to the early Moghul period, as is obvious from the two rows of buildings along the east and west sides of the quadrangle, which are distinguished by porticoes of red standstone with broad eaves supported on brackets into which figures of elephants, lions and peacocks have been introduced.

In the middle of the Quadrangle of Jahangir there still existed in Sikh times a square tank with fountains, enclosed by a garden, which undoubtedly formed part of the original palace. The impression which this palace garden with its surrounding buildings must have produced may be gathered from the following passage in Jahangir's Memoirs in which the Emperor records his first visit to the Lahore palace after its completion by Ma'mur Khan[1]:

"On Monday, the 9th of the Divine month of Azar, corresponding with the 5th Muharram of A.H. 1030 (20 November, 1620), mounting an elephant of the name of Indra, I went towards the city, scattering coin as I proceeded. After three watches and two *gharis* of day had passed, at the selected auspicious hour, having entered the royal residence, I alighted happily and auspiciously at the building recently brought to completion and finished handsomely by the exertions of Ma'mur Khan. Without exaggeration, charming residences and soul-stirring sitting places had been erected in great beauty and delicacy, adorned and embellished with paintings by rare artists. Pleasant green gardens with all kinds of flowers and sweet-scented herbs deceived the sight.

'From head to foot how sweet, turn where I please.
Soft glances at my heart cry, Take thy ease'.

Altogether, there had been expended on these buildings the sum of Rs. 7,00,000 or 23,000 current tumans of Persia."

I may add that on the same day Jahangir received the news that the fort of Kangra had surrendered to the Imperial troops on the 1st Muharram.

The German traveller, Captain Leopold von Orlich[2], gives the following description of an evening *fête* in the Lahore palace on the 9th January 1843, during the short reign of Sher Singh. The garden court where his "fairy scene" is laid, was undoubtedly the Quadrangle of Jahangir, as is evident both from its position north of the big quadrangle of the Diwan-i-'amm and from the mention of the square marble reservoir with numerous fountains.

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1 *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 183. The inscription above quoted gives A.H. 1027 (A.D. 1617-18) as the year of the completion. Prince Khurram (*alias* Shah-Jahan) had first inspected the buildings on the 12th October 1619 A. D.

2 L. von Orlich. *Reise in Ostindien in Briefen an Alexander von Humboldt und Carl Ritter*. Leipzig 1845, pp. 131 f. (*Travels in India including Sinde and the Punjab. Translated from the German*. London 1845. Vol. I, pp. 223 f.).

"Nachmittags 5 Uhr", he writes, "kam einer der ersten Hofbeamten, uns nach dem Winterpallast abzuholen. Wir begaben uns in gewohnter Weise auf Elephanten dahin, ritten durch Hasury-Bagh, bogen dann links durch ein grosses Doppelthor in den von der Citadelle eingeschlossenen Hofraum über eine 20' hohe Rampe, nördlich durch ein zweites Thor in einen kleinen Vorhof, und aus diesem durch ein drittes Thor in einen Gartenhof. Wir stiegen jetzt von unseren Elephanten und wurden vom Prinzen einige Stufen hinauf in einen von Hallen eingeschlossenen kleinen Raum geführt, der mit Kaschmirshawls und Teppichen drappirt war. Hier erwartete uns der Maharaja von seinem Hofe umgeben und nöthigte uns auszuruhen. Es war bereits völlige Dunkelheit und aus dem Lichtglanze, der sich uns zur Seite immer stärker zeigte, konnten wir entnehmen, dass uns heute eine ausserordentliche Festlichkeit bereitet war. Endlich kündigte ein Bote an, dass Alles zu unserem Empfange bereit sey. Eine kleine Marmortreppe führte uns zu dem Bassin und zu den Staatsgemächern, und wie im Zauber waren Bilder von Tausend und eine Nacht vor unseren Augen entfaltet. Ein viereckiges Marmorbassin mit vielen Fontainen, in dessen Mitte ein kolossaler, silberner Pfau sich stolz gebehrdete, bildeten, umgeben von Blumenbeeten, den Kühlungsraum; zwei Seiten schlossen hohe Mauern mit kleinen Thürmchen ein, die beiden anderen zeigten offene und gewölbte Marmorhallen, von kantigen Säulen getragen und mit den schönsten und kostbarsten Vorhängen von Kaschmirshawls garnirt. Das Ganze war von unzähligen Lampen und Lichtern erleuchtet, zwischen denen brennende Sonnen, Mühlen, Räder u. dgl. m. angebracht waren und Feuerwerke aller Art spielten."

Before leaving the group of early Moghul buildings, we have to note, in the centre of the river front, a large building which on the map is indicated as Khwab-gah, *i.e.,* Sleeping Room. To distinguish it from Shah Jahan's building of the same name, it is usually called Bari Khwabgah or Greater Sleeping-hall. The present building seems to belong to the Sikh period and does not possess any architectural beauty[1]. It is, however, highly probable that it occupies the site of the Private Audience Hall or Diwan-khanah—the "Devoncan" in which, according to William Finch, the king sat the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven.

Between the Bari Khwab-gah and the building until recently used as a Roman Catholic chapel there is a pavilion, apparently of Sikh origin, now closed in by modern structures. To the west of the Khwab-gah there was a similar pavilion now demolished but shown on the old map. Here it was that Dilip (*vulgo* Dhuleep) Singh, the last Raja of the Panjab, was born.

The buildings to the west of Jahangir's Quadrangle form a second group erected by his son and successor Shah Jahan. They are distinguished from the early Moghul palace by a greater costliness of material and richness of decoration, the carved red sandstone being replaced by white marble inlaid with mosaics of coloured stones. At the same time they fail to rise to the grandeur of design peculiar to the two large quadrangles of Akbar and Jahangir, and lack the charm of the Hindu

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1 From the Sikh map it would appear that Maharaja Ranjit Singh also used it for his bed-chamber. Honigberger, *op. cit.* p. 586, speaks also of the "Chabga (Ort zum Schlafen)" as being situated at the back of the "Tacht" (*i.e.* Takht, the name by which the Diwan-i-'amm was indicated during the Sikh period).

element introduced in the earlier buildings.

Adjoining Jahangir's Quadrangle to the west there is a small court still occupied by a garden which has lately been laid out again in the formal style of the Moghul period. The centre is marked by a marble platform which contains a water reservoir. To the north of this garden we notice an open marble pavilion, indicated on the Sikh map by the name of Khwab-gah. To distinguish it from the building of the same name in Jahangir's Quadrangle, it is usually designated as Chhoti Khwab-gah "the lesser Sleeping-room". This was probably one of the two buildings the construction of which Shah Jahan ordered in A.D. 1633. But whether it represents the Ghusl-khanah or the Khwabgah mentioned by Muhammad Salih, it is impossible to decide. It is true that in Sikh times it was known by the latter appellation. But the name may easily have become changed, since the Moghul emperors and their governors had ceased to occupy the Lahore palace.

Looking down from the Khwabgah we observe at the foot of the Fort wall a ruined structure which on the Sikh map is called 'arzgah, whereas Mr. Thornton refers to it as "the Arz-begi where the *omra* or nobles of the court assembled in the morning to receive the Emperor's commands". The term "*Arz-begi*", however, can only mean "an officer who reads letters and representations to a king". The word '*arz-gah* appears to be a more suitable term.

The next court is called Khil'at Khanah on the map, which indicates that in Sikh times at least distinguished courtiers, nobles and ambassadors were here invested with the robe of honour (Persian *Khil'at*). On the south side of this court were the royal baths (*Hammam-i-badshahi*) known in Sikh times by the name of *Sheron-wala Hammam* on account of the spouts in the shape of lion's heads, such as may still be seen in Sher Singh's Hammam. On the opposite side there exists a small marble pavilion with Bengali roof now enclosed in the quarters of the commanding officer and used as a bath-room. On the Sikh map it is indicated by the name of "Hall of perfumes", perhaps a rendering of Khasa Khanah.

Entering now a smaller court, we are confronted by a gate of white marble occupying the centre of its southern enclosure. The north-west corner of the square is occupied by an open pavilion which dates from the reign of Ranjit Singh and was used by him as a *Kachahri* or court of justice. Its general appearance is not ungraceful, but its Sikh origin is clearly indicated by certain details, such as the combination of white marble and red sandstone brackets, and that of marble trellis screens with red sandstone posts (Arabic *muttaka*) in the ornamental railing which is placed on the roof of the building. The curious frescoes on the north wall relating to the legend of Krishna are evidently the work of one of Ranjit Singh's court-painters.

We have now reached the last court which occupies the north-west corner of the palace and is known by the name of Saman Burj. The word *saman* is an abbreviation of Arabic *muthamman* meaning 'octagonal'[1], and it will be noticed that

[1] I do not know who is responsible for the wrong translation of *Saman Burj* as "Jasmine Tower", but unfortunately this term has found ready acceptance in all guide-books, whence it will not be easy to eject it. It is true that Persian *saman* means "a jasmine". Honigberger derives "*Somun-burdch*" (*sic*) from *somun* "hot wind" and *burdsch* "a tower" "because here also the lower apartments, being a cool place at noon in the hot summer days, serve as dwelling place for the women of the Harem"!

the Shish Mahall is, in fact, built on a semi-octagonal plan. The appellation Saman Burj, however, dates only from the Sikh period; for the original name was Shah Burj or Royal Tower[1]. This is evident from a passage in the Badshah Namah in which 'Abdu-l-Hamid gives a very accurate description of the buildings now known as Saman Burj. Thus, there can be no shadow of doubt that the inscription over the Hathi Pol, which records the completion of the Shah Burj by 'Abdu-l-Karim in the 4th year of Shah Jahan's reign or A.D. 1631-32, refers to the same group of buildings. It will be seen in the sequel that the gate over which the inscription is placed, provides direct access to the Saman Burj by way of a twisted flight of steps and through the marble gateway noticed in the adjoining court-yard. This was the private entrance to the imperial palace.

In his account of the Shah Burj the court chronicler notices first of all the large hall, now known as Shish Mahall, which occupies the north side of the square. It was here that in March 1849 the sovereignty of the Panjab was assumed by the British Government, as is recorded on a tablet let into the wall. As noticed above, it is built on a semi-octagonal plan. Its longest side, facing the square, has a row of double pillars of inlaid white marble forming five archways surmounted by eaves of the same material. Internally, the spandrels over the arches are decorated with *pietra dura* which has fortunately escaped the vandals who have systematically mutilated this kind of work in other buildings. The graceful vine pattern over the two outer arches deserves especial notice.

The main room, a rectangular hall of noble dimensions, has a dado of white marble, while the upper portion of the walls and the ceiling are decorated with a mosaic of glass laid in gypsum, which has given the building its name of Shish Mahall or "Palace of Mirrors". This name, be it said, is not mentioned by 'Abdu-l-Hamid, who speaks of the building simply as a hall (*aiwan*). He refers to the mirror ornamentation under the curious name of "Aleppo glass". It will be remarked that this decoration belongs to two different epochs. The ceiling with its prevailing aspect of subdued gilt undoubtedly belonged to the original edifice. It is rich without being gaudy. The wall decoration, on the contrary, is decidedly vulgar, and the introduction of fragments of blue and white china bears testimony to a childish taste. It is typical Sikh work and, if any further proof is wanted of its age, I may note that, when a few years ago a part of the glass-work peeled off, the wall beneath was found to be painted. But it appears that this wall-painting, also, dates back only to Sikh times.

The roof of the Shish Mahall is encumbered with a curious medley of structures dating from the Sikh period. The small building which occupies the centre of the roof was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The rest is said to have been added by Sher Singh, except the pavilion on the south-east corner which is ascribed to Nau Nihal Singh.

1 The term "Shah Burj" is also found in Manucci; *Storia do Mogor* (transl. Irvine), Vol. II, p. 463, in the following passage: "There are in the empire three principal imperial abodes; the most ancient is at Dihli, the second at Agrah, the third at Lahore. At each there is a great bastion named the Xaaburg (Shah-burj) which means 'Royal Bastion'. They are domed and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the king holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it he views the elephant fights and diverts himself with them."

Next to the Shish Mahall, the author of the Badshah Namah notes on the west side of the Shah Burj "a pavilion of marble, whose mosaics of cornelian, coral and other precious stones excite the emulation of the workshop of Manes". This building is evidently the open pavilion now known as Naulakha. This name—so tradition affirms—refers to its having cost nine lakhs of rupees. But the court chronicler mentions neither the name Naulakha nor the extravagant sum which would account for it. We may, therefore, assume that both the name and the supposed tradition are comparatively modern. I presume that they date only as far back as the Sikh period. Another "tradition" repeated both by Thornton and Latif, which ascribes this pavilion to Aurangzeb is also to be rejected on the evidence of the Badshah Namah. Like the other buildings of the Shah Burj it belongs to the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, and it will be noticed that the *pietra dura* decoration of the marble dado is entirely in the style of his reign. But the inlay in the panels above the dado is of a very different type and bears a strong resemblance to some of the work found on the Golden Temple at Amritsar. I am, therefore, inclined to think that it was added in the days of Ranjit Singh. The painting and mirror-work in the wooden ceiling is certainly of the Sikh period.

Apart from such few additions as have been noted, Sikh rule has not materially interfered with the buildings of the Shah Burj; and from the subsequent military occupation it has suffered less than any other part of the Fort. Thus, we have this interesting corner of Shah Jahan's palace still practically in the same condition as it was described by his court chronicler.

If we retrace our steps to the adjoining court and pass through the marble gate mentioned above, we enter a rectangular court-yard which contains a little temple of the Sikh period. Another gate on the north side of this square brings us to the top of a flight of stairs which, after making two right-angle turns to the left, leads down to the Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate[1]. From this point we can conveniently start our survey of the tile decoration which covers the west and north fronts of the Fort wall.

1 Mr. Thornton, *Lahore*, p. 54, erroneously speaks of "the *Hathi-paun* or Elephant's Foot Gate". The term "Hathi Pol", which was also used to designate the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort, was evidently of Rajput origin. The second member of the name is Rajasthani *pōl*. *Cf.* my note *The Sanskrit pratoli and its new-Indian derivates. Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 539 ff.

CHAPTER III.—THE PICTURED WALL OF LAHORE [1]

On the Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate we notice, first of all, the Persian inscription, referred to above, which records the construction of the Shah Burj (*alias* Saman Burj) by Shah Jahan in A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1631). It is painted over the gateway and consists of two lines, each of four hemistychs (Arabic *misra*', مصراع), as usual, enclosed within ornamental lines. The spandrels of the intrados are embellished with raised medallions of stone inlaid with an intricate scrollwork pattern.

The entire surface round the extrados was once brilliantly decorated with tilework divided into sunk panels in the usual fashion. But that in the right hand spandrel has quite, and that to the left has partially, disappeared, leaving a great patch of common plaster. On each side are two panels, placed one over the other and enclosed by borders of scrollwork in which flowers are introduced. The lower panel displays a graceful group of flowers of four different kinds—lilies, narcissi and daffodils. The upper panel exhibits a vase placed on a flat dish and filled with various flowers including well-rendered blue irises.

The wall adjoining the Hathi Pol is a curtain wall. Here we notice at once a remarkable unity of composition combined with a marvellous variety of design, which is one of the chief features of this unique wall decoration. Along the whole length of the palace wall there run two cornices at a height of 19 and 51 feet, respectively, from its foot. Each cornice is underlined by a broad band of uniform geometrical design (Plate III). In the upper band (*a*) the lines are dark blue (*lajward, i.e.,* lapis lazuli), forming a repeat of six-pointed stars, the centre of each being marked by a small star of yellow colour. The lower band (*b*) exhibits a *svastika* design in lines of turquoise blue. In each case the blue main lines are laid between two edges of terra-cotta, the intervening spaces being filled with terra-cotta screens pierced with a checkered design. The upper cornice is surmounted by a solid parapet decorated with the usual crenellated (Persian *kangurah*) border.

The two cornices enclose a double row of arched recesses adorned with frescoes which display tulips, poppies and other flowers dear to the heart of the Persian poets. Their fading colours contrast with the brightness of the tile-mosaics which fill the spandrels. The patterns are geometrical, except in one case where we find white herons carrying fish (Plate XXIII, No. 22).

The arched recesses are of different widths, the narrower ones being divided into two by horizontal bands of tilework. In the middle of the lower recesses we notice projecting miniature balcony-windows (*bukharcha*), which add grace and variety to the decorated surface (Plate IV, *a-d*). They are continued along the whole length of the palace wall, but have suffered a great deal. In some cases they appear to have been mended with bits of blue-and-white Multani tiles, presumably by the Sikhs.

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1 An elevation of the Fort wall is given in Plate I. The figures indicate the position of the tile-mosaics reproduced in Plates V—LXXX. Corresponding panels of the same pattern are indicated by the letter *A*.

The upper recesses are all pierced in the centre with arched openings, perhaps meant for loopholes. Between the recesses and the upper starry band there is a series of rectangular panels of tilework in alternating geometrical and floral patterns. These panels have been wantonly disfigured by being pierced with loopholes. Probably the Sikhs are to be held responsible for this vandalism.

The Sikhs have left their stamp on this portion of the pictured wall also in the form of bullet marks. For these must date from the days when the Fort was twice bombarded, the first time in January 1841 on the accession of Sher Singh, who had to besiege Gulab Singh and his Dogras for five days, and again in September 1843 on the accession of Dilip Singh, when his minister Hira Singh captured it from the Sindhianwala Sirdars, who had murdered both Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh. When reading Latif's spirited description[1] of this double bombardment, one wonders that anything of the Lahore Fort remained standing at all. That author relates that on the occasion of the first siege Sher Singh placed some forty marksmen (*mochis*) on the *minars* of the Imperial Mosque which at that time was used by the Khalsa as a powder magazine. "The *mochis* were paid at the rate of Rs. 10 to 20 each, and their commanding position enabled them to inflict considerable loss on the garrison inside the Fort, who were unable to reply effectually to their fire, since they commanded every corner of the palace with their weapons."

Captain Leopold von Orlich, on his visit to the Lahore Fort in January 1843, noticed everywhere traces of the destruction caused by the artillery on the occasion of Sher Singh's accession [2].

The bullet-marks of Sher Singh's *mochis* are particularly noticeable on the beautiful frieze of figured panels (Nos. 1-11), which run between the two rows of arched recesses just noted and consequently are placed at about half the height of the wall. They are continued on the west wall of the Saman Burj (Nos. 12-34) and constitute some of the best specimens of tilework, as exquisite in design as in colour. Dark blue elephants are most prominent, and the action of these ponderous beasts is expressed with singular vigour. An excellent example is the elephant rushing after a fleeing horseman, its *mahaut* leaning back and trying in vain to restrain its fury (No. 9). Several panels show scenes of the elephant fight which formed one of the chief recreations of the Moghul court. The first panel (No. 1) adjoining the Hathi Pol shows such a scene on a white background[3]. According to prevailing custom, each of the two elephants is mounted by two men, so that the second might take the *mahaut's* place, if the latter, as often happened, was pulled down and trampled to death by the opposing animal[4]. The person between the two elephants is probably trying to separate them by means of two cross-shaped cressets (Persian *charkhi*), which were used to end the combat

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1 Latif. *History of the Panjab*, pp. 504 ff. *Cf.* Honigberger, *op. cit.* pp. 117 and 120.

2 *Reise in Ostindien*, p. 125.

3 In this and a few other panels (Nos. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17) the backgrounds have assumed a creamy shade which is not found in the originals. This, I may point out, is not due to any defect in reproduction, but to the drawings having become slightly discoloured in the course of time.

4 Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 63 (Constable's ed. p. 277).

before either elephant was killed[1]. As to the men, who could be more easily replaced, no such precaution seemed required. On another panel (No. 7) distinguished by a dark-green background, the two elephants, each mounted by one driver, have just caught hold of each other.

The third panel with the well-drawn white horses is not less decorative, though the exact meaning of the scene depicted is by no means clear. Possibly the two figures in the centre represent boxers or wrestlers, and the two horsemen umpires or onlookers. Abu-l-fazl[2] relates that at the court of Akbar there were "many Persian and Turani wrestlers and boxers, clever *Mals* from Gujrat, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 *dam*. Every day two well-matched men fight with each other. Many presents are made to them on such occasions." He mentions several by name.

In general, however, the horses do not display the same vigour and are wanting in spirit and in firmness of design (see Nos. 10 and 11). This will be obvious if we compare the elephant and the horse confronting each other on No. 12; the elephant full of action rushing forward with out-stretched trunk, and the horse as tame and stiff as if it were made of wood. The horseman, also, swinging his spear lacks all expression of motion.

The dromedaries, too, that are depicted in some of the panels (Nos. 2, 4, 8, etc.) are but poor productions. They fail to render the characteristic shape and old-world look of the gaunt denizen of the desert. As spandrel decoration, we find a dromedary with two men, preceded by a clumsy bird (No. 21).

The stately Bactrian camels, on the contrary, one mounted by a mace-bearer and the other led at leash (Nos. 23 and 32), which we notice in the same frieze on the Saman Burj, are very decorative. The animal with its grim mouth and woolly neck is excellently drawn. Less successful is the rider who sits stiffly in the saddle. The fighting bulls (No. 17), also, are by no means lacking in spirit.

We have now reached the northern half of the west wall which forms part of the Saman Burj. It will be noticed that here the tilework has suffered a great deal more than on the curtain wall first described. Evidently this is largely due to bad drainage, the water being allowed to flow down along the wall from the buildings above. At several places a broad grey streak down the whole height of the wall plainly marks the course of the drainage which, wherever it touched a panel of tile-work, completely washed out all colour.

This portion of the west wall well displays the harmony of the wall decoration in relation to the buildings above. It has five large arches, of which the central one is placed exactly under the pierced marble screen of the Naulakha, which occupies the centre of the Saman Burj. The five arches must originally have been open, but are now bricked up and provided with unsightly grated windows, the rooms behind being used for the storage of spirits. The spandrels over the large arches are splendidly decorated with winged figures in floating

1 *A'in-i-Akbari* (translated by Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 127.
2 *Ibidem*, Vol. I, p. 253.

garments (Nos. 15, 24 and 31). These angels with their variegated wings spread out on both sides of the head are singularly suited for spandrel decoration and remind one of the winged figures on the triumphal arches of Imperial Rome. That they represent angels may be inferred from Moghul pictures, where we find figures similarly robed administering to the wants of Ibrahim bin Adham, the royal dervish[1]. In one instance (No. 24) the angel has captured a blue-coloured devil with horns and tail, his hands tied together with a long rope. A dark-blue demon armed with club and buckler, but more comic than terrible in appearance, may be seen in one of the smaller spandrels above No. 25.

Another angel (No. 15) holds a fan and is surrounded by winged angel heads with caps, which are also represented in some of the smaller spandrels, where one of them holds a rosary (Nos. 19 and 20). The fan, or rather the sun-shade (Persian *sayaban* or *aftabgir*), is mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl[2] among the ensigns of royalty. He describes it as being "of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of an umbrella, is covered with brocade, and ornamented with precious stones".

We may assume that there is some connection between the winged heads and the cherubs of Western art, but most probably their origin is to be found in Persia and not in Europe[3]. Sir Edward Maclagan has pointed out that angels and cherubs of a very similar type occurred in frescoes on the vaults of the arches of the Gola Sarai at Lahore, a building which was demolished some years ago.

The spandrel over the remaining arch (No. 26) deserves close examination. It is badly damaged and the subject consequently is not apparent at first sight. A white-spotted blue dragon is plainly visible, and over it we notice a pair of huge three-coloured wings, but it is obvious that these cannot belong to the dragon, as they are turned the wrong way. They must belong to some other animal, the body of which has entirely disappeared. This, I believe, can have been nothing but the fabulous bird Simurgh, which in Persian and Perso-Indian miniatures is often shown fighting the dragon[4]. Near the dragon's head there is a confused mass of light green scrolls which I take to represent the bushy tail of the giant-bird. Its talons of the same green hue will be noticed on the back of the dragon. The snaky monster with its four feet helplessly hanging down has the appearance of being carried up through the air by its winged enemy, at whom it seems to snap with its pointed beak.

Under the five large arches are elongated panels, of which only two are partially preserved. One (No. 28) represents a procession: first an elephant carrying two men, a *mahaut* and a standard-bearer, then a group of foot soldiers with banners and matchlocks, followed by some horsemen of whom one makes a

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1 *Cf. Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1909, p. 751 and for 1910, p. 167.

2 *A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 50; plate IX, fig. 3.

3 A connecting link between these angels and the "winged victories" of Western Art is to be found in the analogous figures in the spandrels of Sassanian buildings of Persia, which were certainly inspired by Graeco-Roman prototypes. *Cf.* Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, *V^me^* partie, p. 95, fig. 69; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, (Eng. transl. 1892), p. 135 and fig. 63; Curzon, *Persia*, II, p. 561. [Ed.].

4 F. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century*. London 1912. Vol. II, plates 82, 250, 254 and 270.

respectful *salam* to another riding in front of him, and, finally, a melancholy dog closing the train. The corresponding panel (No. 27) has lost nearly all its colour, but the design can still be traced. It contains a group of elephants and dromedaries.

Over the arches are large rectangular panels embellished with rich geometrical mosaics. Among the smaller scenes depicted on this side of the Saman Burj we find several horsemen on prancing steeds—one (No. 34) attacking an elephant with his spear; another (No. 30) shooting arrows at a lion, clumsy and badly drawn, in whose throat and forehead two bolts are sticking.

The north-west face of the Saman Burj is the most perfect part of the pictured wall of Lahore. It is well preserved, except on the left hand side where it is injured by a drain, and contains three large arches of which the central one appears originally to have been an open window. The spandrels are gracefully decorated with a scroll pattern on a dark-blue background.

Beneath this arch there is one of the finest and most remarkable scenes: four horsemen playing polo (No. 38). The right hand side of this beautiful panel is badly injured, even the brickwork beneath the plaster having become exposed. But, as it is symmetrical, we can restore the missing portion. The goals, marked by a pair of upright slabs, are shown on both sides. The birds flying over the horsemen are evidently purely decorative, like the flowers and the foliage shown all over the panel.

It is well-known that the noble game of polo or *chaugan*[1], as it is called in Persian, was not less popular in Muhammadan India than in other parts of Asia. Qutbu-d-Din Aibak, one of the earliest Moslem rulers of Hindustan, was killed while playing polo at Lahore (A.D. 1210). It is also mentioned in the days of Sikandar Lodi.

Abu-l-Fazl in his A'in-i-Akbari[2] gives the following account of the game of *chaugan*.

"Superficial observers", he says, "look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. It tests the value of a man, and strengthens bonds of friendship. Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding; and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the reins. Hence His Majesty [Akbar] is very fond of this game. Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court; but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents.

"When His Majesty goes to the *maidan* (open field), in order to play this game, he selects an opponent and some active and clever players, who are only filled with one thought, namely, to shew their skill against the opponent of His Majesty. From motives of kindness, His Majesty never orders any one to be a player; but chooses the pairs by the cast of the die. There are not more than ten players, but many more keep themselves in readiness. When one *ghari* (24 minutes) has passed, two players take rest and two others supply their place.

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1 For another ancient Indian representation of a game of polo, depicted in a fresco painting at Kumatgi near Bijapur, *cf.* Cousens, *Bijapur and its architectural remains* (Bombay, 1916), p. 125 and pl. cxiii. [Ed.].

2 *Ibidem*, Vol. I, pp. 297 f.

"The game itself is played in two ways. The first way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end of the *chaugan* stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the *hal*[1]. This manner is called in Hindi *rol.*

"The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugan* stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called *belah,* and may be performed in various ways. The player may either strike the ball with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the right forwards or backwards; or he may do so with his left hand; or he may send the ball in front of the horse to the right or to the left. The ball may be thrown in the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body; or the rider may spit it, when the ball is in front of the horse, or he may lift himself upon the back leather of the horse and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

"His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shews in the various ways of hitting the ball; he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all. When a ball is driven to the *hal,* they beat the *naqqarah,* so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the *hal* wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (*mil*), the game is looked upon as *burd* (drawn). At such times, the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill.

"His Majesty also plays at *chaugan* on dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire. For this purpose, *palas* wood is used which is very light, and burns for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the *chaugan* sticks. If one of them breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may keep them.

"It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it."

Even the effeminate Muhammad Shah is said in his youth to have been fond of hunting and of the sport now known as polo[2].

Under the two side-arches we find two oblong panels (No. 39), identical in design, representing a spirited group of four camels of which the two in the centre are engaged in a fierce fight, while the two others are led by attendants. This camel-fight, as will be shown beneath, is also to be classed among the entertainments of the Moghul Court[3].

The spandrels (Nos. 40 and 42) contain angel figures not less magnificent than those on the west wall; but here each is carrying a fan and a lamb, while a horned demon head appears over the key of the arch. The remaining space is filled with "Chinese" clouds, such as are also found in the *pietra-dura* decoration of the Moghul palaces.

Over the arches are large rectangular panels with graceful scrolls in turquoise

1 The pillars which mark the end of the playground.
2 Latif, *History of the Panjab,* p. 219.
3 *A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 143.

blue and white alternating with crimson and white flowers. Among the smaller panels we notice two yellow lions chasing deer (Nos. 41 and 43), mounted elephants (Nos. 44 and 45), and prancing horses (No. 36). On one (No.37) two combatants are seen armed with sword and shield. Such gladiators (Persian *shamsher-baz*) are duly noticed by Abu-l-fazl [1] among the servants of the Court.

We now reach the north wall of the Saman Burj which supports the back wall of the Shish Mahall or Palace of Mirrors. Owing to the action of the water flowing down from the gutters above, the decoration of this side of the wall has suffered irreparable damage. The large arch in the centre has been bricked up and the tile-mosaics have entirely disappeared. In the spandrels they consisted, evidently, of scroll work, while the oblong panel beneath, though devoid of all colour, still retains its design plainly marked in the plaster: a row of seven flower-vases of various shapes alternating with flower-stalks.

On a line with this panel we have two long panels, one (No. 47) showing an elephant fight in which the elephants, each mounted by one *mahaut,* are evidently being urged on by footmen armed with *charkhis.* The other (No. 46) shows some men leading two antelopes at leash. Bernier [2] mentions tame antelopes among the animals which took part in the daily review before the Hall of Public Audience. He says that they were also made to fight one another, and that Shah Jahan used still to amuse himself with this kind of sport in his old age, when he was kept a prisoner in the Agra Fort.

The following curious passage from Jahangir's Memoirs refers to a pet antelope over whose grave a life-size statue of the animal with a suitable epitaph was set up by order of the Emperor.

"On Tuesday", says the Emperor, "the royal standards alighted at Jahangir-pur, which is one of my fixed hunting-places. In this neighbourhood had been erected by my order a *manar* at the head of the grave of an antelope called Mansaraj [*or,* of any antelope *Raj*] which was without equal in fights with tame antelopes and in hunting wild ones. On a stone of that *manar* was carved this prose composition, written by Mulla Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who was the chief of the elegant writers of the day: 'In this enchanting place an antelope came into the world-holding (*jahan-giri*) net of the God-knowing ruler Nuru-d-din Jahangir Padshah. In the space of one month, having overcome his desert fierceness, he became the head of the special antelopes.' On account of the rare quality of this antelope, I commanded that no person should hunt the deer of this plain, and that their flesh should be to Hindus and Muhammadans as the flesh of cows and pigs. They made the gravestone in the shape of an antelope." [3]

On this side of the Saman Burj should also be noticed eight panels, each containing two standing figures, evidently satellites of the Imperial court. In one of these panels (No. 48) the first man holds a fly-whisk, which from early times has

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1 *A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 252.

2 Bernier, *Voyages* Vol. I, p. 220 and II, p. 42. (Constable's edition, pp. 166 and 262.)

3 *Tuzuk* (ed. Beveridge) Vol. I, pp. 90 f. Elliot *History of India,* Vol. VI, pp. 302 f. Latif, *Lahore,* p. 45. The modern name of Jahangirpur is Sheikhupura, in the Gujranwala District. The *manar* mentioned by Jahangir is still standing. [Ed.]

been considered an emblem of royalty in India[1]. The other carries a curved sword in a scabbard. The two figures in green robes (No. 49) must represent Maulvis. Each of them holds a tablet with an Arabic text. One reads الله باقی "God is lasting" and the other الله اکبر یا فتاح "God is great, oh Conqueror."[2] On a third panel (No. 50) two servants carry a vase of flowers and a dish of pomegranates.

The north-east face of the Saman Burj corresponds to that on the north-west, and is decorated with mosaics of the same pattern. We notice, however, that the arched recess in the centre is painted and, therefore, must have been originally closed. It is now provided with a modern window secured by means of iron bars and nettings. Instead of the elephants on the north-east wall we have here two men blowing trumpets (No. 51). These are probably the instruments which used to be played in the Naqqar Khanah and of which Bernier[3] gives the following description.

"C'est le lieu où sont les Trompettes, ou plûtôt les Hautbois et les Tymbales qui jouent ensemble de concert à certaines heures du jour et de la nuit; mais c'est un concert bien étrange aux oreilles d'un Européen nouveau venu qui n'y est pas encore accoûtumé, car il y a quelquefois dix ou douze de ces Hautbois, et autant de Tymbales, qui donnent tout d'un coup, et il y a tel Hautbois, celuy qu'on appelle Karna, qui est long d'une brasse et demie, et qui n'a pas moins d'un pied d'ouverture par le bas, comme il y a des Tymbales de cuivre ou de fer, qui n'ont pas moins d'une brasse de diamétre; jugez delà du tintamare que cela doit faire; en verité cette Musique dans le commencement me pénétroit et m'étourdissoit tellement qu'elle m'étoit insuportable; néantmoins, je ne sais ce que ne fait point l'accoûtumance; il y a déja longtemps que je la trouve trés-agreable, et la nuit principalement que je l'entens de loin dans mon lit de dessus ma terrasse, elle me semble avoir quelque chose de grave, de Majestueux, et de fort mélodieux."

From this point we start our review of the long wall which forms the north side of the palace. It is divided by four projecting octagonal towers, of which the two larger are placed at the corners of the square called Khil'at Khanah, whilst the two smaller occupy the corners of Jahangir's Quadrangle and form part of the buildings ascribed to that Emperor. On the map of the Sikh period the two large towers are called Kala Burj and Lal Burj, *i.e.*, the Black and the Red Tower.

It will be seen that in general the tile-mosaics on the north wall of the palace are in a far less satisfactory state of preservation than those on the west wall. The portion between the Saman Burj and the first octagonal turret has five large arches, the spandrels of which, except the central one, are decorated again with winged figures (Nos. 55 and 58) of the same type as those found on the Saman Burj. Here, also, is a panel with two standing figures (No. 52), the first of whom waves a handkerchief, whilst the second holds under his right arm a large nondescript object

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1 The word *chauri* (vulgo *chowrie*) is derived from Sanskrit *chamara*, which is a derivation from *chamara* meaning "a yak" (*bos grunniens*). The fly-whisk is made of the tail of this animal.

2 The word *fatah* literally means "opener", and as an epithet of Allah, implies that He opens, *i.e.*, conquers towns and countries for the faithful, that He opens the mind of man for knowledge and wisdom, that He opens the paths to gain for the merchant, etc. In the second inscription there is an *alif* in excess.

3 Bernier; *Voyages* Vol. II, pp. 38 f. (Constable's edition p. 260.)
Cf. *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 50 f. and pp. 611 f.

resembling a quiver.

On the upper portion of the wall we notice some rectangular panels with similar figures of imperial footmen, but here each panel contains only a single figure. The objects they carry are, in one instance, a well-drawn candle-stick (No. 53) and in the other a vase of flowers (No. 54). It will be seen that such single-figured panels occur all along the north wall.

The figure with the candle-stick is of unusual interest, because it reminds us of a passage in the A'in-i-Akbari[1] which occurs in the chapter "On Illuminations".

"Every afternoon, one *ghari* before sunset, his Majesty, if on horseback, alights, or if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles, on twelve candle-sticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light."

Now the "singer of sweet melodies with a candle in his hand", as shown on the picture illustrating this scene in Blochmann's translation (plate VI), closely resembles the candle-bearer on the Fort wall.

Other subjects treated here with great ability are richly caparisoned horses, either led by a groom or mounted by a horseman sword in hand, who is preceded by a forerunner carrying a triangular banner (Nos. 56 and 59). Or we find an elephant with lifted trunk, on which two men are seated, a *mahaut* armed with his goad and a standard-bearer perched on the hind-quarters of the animal, while a footman with a *charkhi* walks in front (No. 57). These scenes remind us of Bernier's[2] description of the review which daily took place before the Emperor, when he sat in state in the Public Audience Hall:

"Pendant une heure et demie ou environ que dure cette Assemblée, le Roy se divertit à voir passer devant soy un certain nombre des plus beaux cheveaux de ses Escuries, pour savoir s'ils sont bien traitez et en bon estat. Il fait le mesme d'un certain nombre d'Elefans qu'il fait aussi passer devant soy; leur sale et vilain corps est alors bien lavé et bien net, et peint en noir comme de l'encre, hormis qu'ils ont deux grosses rayes de peinture rouge qui du haut de la teste leur décendent vers la Trompe où elles se joignent: Ces Elefans ont aussi pour lors quelque belle couverture en broderie avec deux clochettes d'argent qui leur pendent des deux côtez, attachées aux deux bouts d'une grosse chaîne d'argent qui leur passe par dessus le dos; de certainës queues de vaches du grand Tibet blanches et fort cheres qui leur pendent aux oreilles comme de grandes moustaches; et deux petits Elefans bien parez se tiennent à leurs côtez comme s'ils étoient leurs Esclaves et destinez pour les servir. Ces grands Colosses, comme s'ils étoient glorieux de se voir ainsi magnifiquement ornez et accompagnez marchent gravement, et lors qu'ils sont arrivez devant

1 *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 49.
2 *Voyages*, Vol. II, pp. 41 ff. (Constable's edition, pp. 261 f.)

le Roy, le Conducteur qui est assis sur leurs épaules avec un crochet de fer à la main, les picque, les talonne, leur parle, et leur fait incliner un genou, lever la trompe en l'air, et faire une espece de hurlement, que le peuple prend pour un Taslim ou Salut bien censé."

The wall surface between the first and second octagonal tower—the Kala Burj and Lal Burj—is almost devoid of colour decoration, and whatever traces of it may have remained, are now concealed under modern plaster. Under the lower cornice, however, we notice some square panels, in which segments of dark-blue and yellow tiles have been inlaid in a raised terra-cotta frame of geometrical design (Plate IV, *f*). It is noteworthy that such mosaics in relief, reminding one of the old Multan tile-work, are only found on the north wall of the Lahore Fort. The only figured panels are four spandrels, each containing a pair of blue cranes flying (No. 61), beneath the lower cornice, and above it some small spandrels with angels, cherubs and lions (Nos. 62, 63 and 64). On the top of this portion of the Fort wall we find a curious parapet of brickwork placed on both sides of the small marble pavilion and retaining remnants of tile decoration.

The second octagonal tower, the Lal Burj, which terminates this part of the wall, was evidently once decorated with tiled panels up to the eaves. In the central portion there is one panel in which we can still distinguish a turquoise-coloured *mahaut* seated on the neck of a dark-blue elephant. Under the upper band there appears to have been a row of standing figures. Above, the decoration consists of geometrical squares in relief of the type just described, alternating with pierced terra-cotta screens. It will be noticed that the top portion of the tower over the eaves is a modern addition.

Beyond this tower the lower portion of the wall is partly masked by the brick structure called 'Arz-gah which, as we have seen, is built right under the Chhoti Khwabgah. On this part of the wall not a trace of colour decoration now remains, except the two horizontal bands, of which the lower one is partially hidden by the 'Arz-gah.

We have now reached the last part of the pictured wall corresponding to the Quadrangle of Jahangir above and flanked by two slim octagonal towers partly engaged in the wall. Here again we have occasion to observe the perfect harmony between the wall decoration and the position of the buildings above. The edifice occupying the centre of the river front of Jahangir's Quadrangle is the Bari Khwabgah. The wall surface beneath has five large arched panels, the spandrels of which are adorned with well-preserved faïence mosaics. Those over the central arch each display a magnificent dark-blue dragon pursuing a white and blue goat (Plate LXIX, No. 92). The movement of the serpent monster is well-expressed. Its legs are provided with little wings.

There may have been a special purpose in giving the dragon such a prominent place under the Imperial Bed-chamber. This may be inferred from Bernier's description of the insignia[1].

"Devant eux [les 'Manseb-dars'] marche pompeusement ce qu'on appelle le

1 *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 49. (Constable's edition, pp. 266 f.)

Kours [Persian قرص]; ce sont plusieurs figures d'argent, portées sur le bout de certains gros bâtons d'argent fort beaux et fort bien travaillez; dont il y en a deux qui representent deux grands poissons; deux autres qui representent un Animal fantastique d'horrible figure qu'ils apellent Eiedeha; d'autres qui representent deux Lions, d'autres deux Mains, d'autres des Balances, et ainsi je ne sais combien d'autres figures dont ils font leurs Mystéres."

The word *eiedeha* exactly renders the Indian pronunciation of the Persian *azhdaha* (اژدها "a dragon")—a compound, of which the first member is derived from Avestan *azhi* corresponding to Sanskrit *ahi.* The dragon must have been known in Iran in a very remote age and its occurrence in Gandhara sculptures is probably due to Iranian influence. Usually we associate this animal with China, and it is quite possible that the dragon under Jahangir's bed-room is a direct descendant of the imperial dragon of Pekin.

The spandrels over the two adjoining arches are decorated with angels on both sides, similar in design but executed in different colours (No. 89). Each angel is preceded by a flying bird and holds a flask and a cup. Whether this flask is supposed to contain sweet sherbet or some stronger beverage, it is impossible to decide. But we notice that the flask is badly drawn and that in general this cup-bearing angel of clumsy appearance is very inferior to the truly angelic forms which adorn the walls of the Saman Burj.

The spandrels of the remaining two arched panels (No. 91) exhibit a floral design which is reproduced here on account of the excellence of its colouring.

Under the dragons there are two rectangular panels (No. 101) each with a standing figure of an attendant carrying a fly-whisk and a handkerchief (Persian *rumal*).

The remaining portion of the wall is divided into larger and smaller recessed panels, arched or rectangular, on which but little colour is left. We may assume that the north wall, also, originally bore fresco decoration in addition to the tilework, but no trace of it now remains. Among the faïence mosaics we find small spandrels with cherubs (Nos. 86 and 90) or various animals—elephants, horses, lions, pheasants (?) and herons (Nos. 97—100), and rectangular panels with richly caparisoned elephants (Nos. 83 and 84), clearly delineated but unfortunately much injured. One (No. 75) is mounted by a *mahaut* who is in the act of making a *salam.* Another panel, showing an antelope (black buck) led at leash by a man, has also suffered a great deal (No. 88). We have noted the same subject on the Saman Burj (No. 46).

Some of the larger arched recesses contain rectangular sunk panels, in which we find standing figures of imperial attendants of the same type as noticed on other parts of the wall. One of them is a soldier clad in the ample robe of the Moghul period and carrying a match-lock (No. 74). In another (No. 78) we may perhaps recognize a *Farangi, i.e.,* European soldier in the service of the Great Moghul, on account of his peculiar costume: a short jacket, wide trousers and a hat with a feather. There are two more such figures (Nos. 76 and 77) which are distinguished by a peculiar dress, probably meant to indicate a distinct nationality; but I am unable to identify them.

Adjoining the western tower there is a panel (No. 73) which deserves special notice on account of its uncommon subject. It represents the goat-and-monkey man, a figure familiar to any one who has lived in India. It is true that the monkey, partly owing to his costume and partly to his colour, is difficult to recognize, but his companion, the goat, being balanced by his master on a series of green spool-shaped supports, is so briskly and naturally drawn as to define the well-known scene at once. It is not a little curious to find a popular element thus introduced into this truly imperial art.

To complete our review, we must call attention, finally, to the slim octagonal turrets placed at the ends of Jahangir's Quadrangle. The one on the west side is half engaged in the wall and that to the east to the extent of one quarter. The latter affords consequently more space for decoration. The rectangular panels with standing figures (Nos. 104 and 105) on and adjoining the eastern tower are of the same kind as have already been described. So are the geometrical relief-panels on the lower portion of the wall. Beneath the upper decorative band both towers are corbelled out, and it is here that we find a series of roughly quadrant-shaped panels, containing seated figures, alternately turned to the right and to the left. The western turret has eight such panels (Nos. 65—72) and the eastern one ten[1] (Nos. 108—116). Of these ten, one has been left unreproduced, as it is identical with the *huqqa* smoker (No. 113). On the whole, these seated figures are very uniform and only a few have any individuality, such as the baker (No. 114), the writer (No. 115) and the drummer (No. 116). Particularly interesting are the two cup-bearers (Nos. 69 and 71), as they remind us of the curious coin on which Jahangir boldly struck his own effigy holding in his right hand the forbidden cup.

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1 There appears to have been one more which is now entirely covered with plaster.

CHAPTER IV.—ANIMAL FIGHTS AT THE MOGHUL COURT

In our inspection of the pictured wall of Lahore we have noticed that a large number of tile-mosaics relate to animal-fights which were no less favourite an entertainment at the Moghul Court than in ancient Rome. But, whereas the Circenses of the Caesars were chiefly intended to propitiate the populace, the animal combats of Moghul India were meant in the first place for the amusement of the emperor and his court. Hence the scene of such entertainments was the palace, or, in the case of elephant fights, the sandy ground between the palace and the river. "On a choisi exprés cette place proche de l'eau", says Tavernier [1], "parce que l'élephant qui a eu la victoire estant en fureur on n'en pourroit de long-temps venir à bout, si on ne le poussoit dans la riviere, à quoy il faut user d'artifice, en attachant au bout d'une demipique des fusées et des petards où l'on met le feu pour le chasser vers l'eau; car quand il est dedans environ deux ou trois pieds il s'appaise incontinent."

It appears both from classical and indigenous literature that animal fights as a royal amusement were known in India long before the advent of the Muhammadans, although in a country where the respect for animal life is carried to such a pitch there must always have been a strong feeling against such a custom, especially among the cultured classes of society.

From the Greek work "On the peculiarities of animals"(Περὶ ζώων ἰδιότητος) by Claudius Aelianus, who lived about the middle of the second century of our era, I quote the following passage [2]:—

"The great king of the Indians appoints a day every year for fighting between men, as I have mentioned elsewhere, and also even between brute animals that are horned. These butt each other and, with a natural ferocity that excites astonishment, strive for victory, just like athletes straining every nerve whether for the highest prize, or for proud distinction, or for fair renown. Now these combatants are brute animals—wild bulls, tame rams, those called *mesoi,* unicorn asses, and hyaenas, an animal said to be smaller than the antelope, much bolder than the stag, and to butt furiously with its horns. Before the close of the spectacle, elephants come forward to fight, and with their tusks inflict death-wounds on each other. One not unfrequently proves the stronger, and it not unfrequently happens that both are killed."

This passage, though apparently corrupt, distinctly refers to elephant fights as a royal amusement. It speaks, moreover, of bull fights and ram fights, the word *mesos* being evidently a rendering of Sanskrit *mesha* "a ram". It is not so easy to decide whether the "unicorn asses" and "horned hyaenas" mentioned by Aelian have their origin in reality. Can it be that by the "horned hyaena" the blackbuck is meant, an animal which, as we shall see presently, used to be kept at the Moghul court for fighting purposes?

1 Tavernier, *Voyages,* Vol. II, p. 72, transl. Ball Vol. I, p. 106. *Cf.* Thevenot Vol. III pp. 33 and 42, Bernier, *Voyages* Vol. II, p. 10. (Constable's edition, p. 242.)

2 M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in classical literature,* Westminster, 1901, p. 145.

Another classical reference to elephant-fights is found in the "*Christian Topography*" of Kosmas Indikopleustes (*i.e.,* "the Indian Navigator"), an Alexandrian monk, who had travelled extensively in the east and whose work appeared some years before the middle of the sixth century A.D. One of his chief merits is that, in relating his travels, he adheres strictly to truth. In his chapter on the Island of 'Taprobane' (*i.e.,* Ceylon) he says[1] :—

"But the kings of the mainland of India catch their elephants as they roam about at large, and having trained them, employ them in war. They frequently set elephants to fight against each other in the presence of the king. They separate the two combatants by means of a large crossbeam of wood fastened to other two beams standing upright and reaching up to their breasts. A number of men are stationed on this and that side to prevent them meeting in close fight, but they instigate them to attack each other, and then the beasts becoming enraged use their trunks to belabour each other with blows till one or other of them gives in."

This account agrees remarkably with the descriptions of elephant fights at the Moghul court given by European travellers of the 17th century. In ancient India, also, it was evidently the object to end the fight before either of the two battling animals was mortally wounded or killed.

In the rules for Buddhist monks laid down in the Pali Canon it is said that they should not attend fights of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, rams, cocks and quails[2].

Dr. F. W. Thomas has drawn my attention to a passage in the *Harshacharita*[3] or 'Life of King Sri Harsha of Thanesar', from which it appears that in that monarch's time elephants used to be employed in 'the spectacle of a mimic battle'. As to ram-fights in ancient India, we have the testimony of the famous play *Mrichchhakatika* or 'the Little Clay Cart', in the fourth act of which the fool or *Vidushaka* on his visit to the palace of the courtesan, Vasantasena, notices among other animals in the second court "a ram having his neck rubbed like a prize-fighter after the fight".

Evidently the Moslem conquerors very soon adopted the custom.

As early as the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din Khilji (A.D. 1295-1316) we find his son and heir Khizr Khan represented as doing nothing "but holding convivial meetings, drinking wine, hearing music, playing polo and setting one elephant against another".

Under the Moghuls, elephant-fights became one of the principal recreations of the court. The Emperor Akbar is said to have personally taken part in this dangerous sport, even when he was only fourteen years of age.

Abu-l-Fazl[4] relates that the immediate cause of Akbar's last illness was the excitement due to an elephant-fight and Prince Khusrau's bad behaviour on that

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1 M. Crindle, *op. cit.* p. 165.

2 *Digha-nikaya. Kevattasuttanta. Cf.* K. E. Neumann, *Buddhissche Anthologie. Texte aus dem Pali-Kanon.* Leiden 1892, p. 69.

3 *The Harsa-carita of Bana* transl. by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London, 1897, p. 46.

4 *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) Vol. I, p. 467. The same event is related in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* as quoted by Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, *Journal Panjab Historical Society,* Vol. II, pp. 53 f. *Cf.* also Elliot, *History of India,* Vol. VI. pp. 168 f.

occasion. "The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusrau at an elephant fight. Salim [Jahangir] had an elephant of the name of Giranbar, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of Abrup, one of Khusrau's elephants. Akbar, therefore, wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Rantahman [the Tuzuk has 'Ranmathan'] was selected as *tabanchah, i.e.,* he was to assist either of the two combatants, when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram [Shah Jahan] sat at a window, whilst Salim and Khusrau were on horse-back in the arena. Giranbar completely worsted Abrup, and as he mauled him too severely, the *tabanchah* elephant was sent off to Abrup's assistance. But Jahangir's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Giranbar, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamna. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified when at that moment Khusrau came up and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for 'Ali[1], to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill."

That Shah Jahan also was particularly fond of elephant fights, is evident from the following passage which occurs in 'Abdu-l-Hamid's chronicle[2]. "In this very space [between the fort and the river] pass before the most holy (royal) eye, the furious, wild and man-killing elephants which it is quite unsafe to bring in the Daulatkhanah-i-Khass-o-'amm. It is also in this large space that the elephant fight which is peculiar to the kings of India and worthy of amusing exalted sovereigns is arranged. No doubt, without such a large space the combat of such a pair of demon-countenanced and mountain-shaped [beasts] cannot take place. During their fight and pursuit a world is trodden under the feet of those two four-pillared Bi-sutuns.

'Time by the two combating elephants,
Kills on the spot a world like a gnat.'

"The ancient kings of India, it is true, attempted to breed mountain-moving, battle-breaking elephants, but the specimens of this kind, excellent in quality as well as in size, which have been produced in this exalted reign, together with perfect specimens of all other animal life, have never in any age been heard of, much less seen. Sometimes, according to the inclination of the [King's] disposition, as many as four or five pairs are set to fight. In this very space the elephants, mountain-shaped and swift like the wind, are caused to run after horses, so that they may get used to attacking brave horsemen in battles. In the same large area His

1 Hakim 'Ali of Gilan, surnamed *Jalinus-uz-zamani* "the Galenus of the age" was Akbar's physician.
2 *Badshah Namah,* Vol. I, pt. I, p. 144.

Majesty reviews the horses of the victorious armies and the contingent troops of the *amirs.*"

François Bernier[1] has left us the following description of an elephant fight at Delhi which he must often have witnessed during his stay at the court of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb:—

"Il faut icy vous faire part d'un Divertissement par o ù finissent ordinairement ces Festes, et qui nous est inconnu en Europe; c'est le combat des Elefans que le Roy, les Dames de la Cour, et les Omerahs voyent de divers appartements de la Forteresse, et qui se fait devant tout le peuple dans cette grande Place sabloneuse qui regarde la Riviere."

"L'on fait une muraille de terre de trois ou quatre pieds de largeur, et de cinq ou six de hauteur; les deux Elefans qui doivent combatre s'en viennent de front, l'un d'un costé de cette muraille, et l'autre de l'autre, chacun ayant deux Conducteurs dessus, afin que si le premier qui est sur les épaules et qui a le grand crochet de fer à la main pour faire tourner l'Elephant à droite et à gauche, vient à tomber, le second qui est sur le derriere, se jette aussi-tôt en sa place. Ces quatre Conducteurs animent chacun leur Elefant au combat, et à passer vigoureusement sur son ennemy, tantôt en leur parlant doucement et tantôt en les querellant comme des lâches et les talonnant tres-rudement. Quand ils ont ainsi esté long-temps poussez et animez, alors on voit ces deux grosses masses venir à la muraille, s'aborder lourdement et se donner de si terribles coups de dents, de teste et de trompe, qu'on diroit qu'ils s'iroient crever l'un l'autre. Ce combat continue quelque temps, cesse et recommence par plusieurs fois, jusqu'à ce que la muraille s'estant éboulée, le plus courageux des deux passe sur l'autre, luy fait tourner le dos, le poursuit à coups de dents et de trompe, et s'acharne tellement aprés, qu'il n'y a pas moyen de les separer; si ce n'est avec des Cherkys qui sont certains feux d'artifice qu'on jette entre-deux; car cet animal. est tres-peureux et craint sur tout le feu; d'o ù vient que depuis qu'on se sert d'armes à feu dans les armées, les Elefans n'y servent presque plus de rien. Veritablement il s'en trouve quelques-uns de ces braves qu'on amene de l'Isle de Ceilan, qui ne sont pas si peureux; mais encore n'est-ce qu'après les avoir des années entieres accoustumez, en leur tirant tous les jours devant eux des mousquets, en leur jettant des petars de papier entre les jambes. Au reste le combat des Elefans ne seroit pas trop desagréable à voir s'il n'étoit un peu trop cruel, à cause qu'il arrive souvent que quelques-uns de ces pauvres miserables Conducteurs sont foulez aux pieds et y périssent; car les Elefans dans le combat ont cette malice qu'ils tâchent sur tout de fraper de leur trompe et d'attirer en bas le Conducteur de leur adversaire; et c'est pour cela que le jour que ces pauvres Conducteurs savent qu'ils ont à faire combatre les Elefans, ils disent adieu et à leurs femmes et à leurs enfans, comme s'ils étoient condamnez à la mort: Ce qui les encourage et les console, c'est que quand ils échappent, et qu'ils s'acquittent bien de leur devoir, le Roy augmente leur paye, et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyssas, ce qui vient à être environ cinquante francs: ou s'ils y demeurent, il fait laisser la paye pour la veuve, et l'Office au fils quand il y en a. Un autre malheur accompagne souvent ce

1 Bernier, *Voyages* Vol. II, pp. 63 ff. (Constable's edition, pp. 276 ff.) *Cf.* Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (Trans. Irvine), Vol. II, p. 364.

combat; c'est que dans cette grande foule de monde qui s'y trouve ordinairement il y en a toujours quelques-uns d'attrapez qui sont renversez par l'Elefant, ou foulez aux pieds des chevaux et des hommes qui s'écartent et fuyent tous tout d'un coup, et tombent les uns sur les autres lors que les Elefans sont en furie, et que l'un poursuit l'autre; de sorte qu'on ne peut voir ce jeu-là de près qu'avec danger. Pour moy, la seconde fois que je le vis, je me repentis assez de m'être si fort aproché, et si je n'eusse eu un bon cheval et deux bons Valets, je crois que je l'aurois payé cher aussi bien que beaucoup d'autres."

Hawkins relates of Jahangir that in elephant-fights, when a driver, as often happened, was hurt, the Emperor had him thrown into the neighbouring river. "So long as he lives in pain, he will curse me", was the despot's remark "but dead men are silent."[1]

The following account of an elephant fight in which Aurangzeb displayed great courage, I quote from a native historian. For a translation of the passage I am indebted to my late Assistant, Maulvi Nur Bakhsh.

How the dignified and patient Prince, Muhammad Aurangzeb, stood firm against the onslaught of the elephant Sidhkar, huge as a mountain, and smote with his spear that mad, malignant and unruly beast.[2]

"The Emperor of the age on many a day finds his delight in watching the fights of elephants that resemble wonder-working thunderclouds moving in the heavens.

'Gigantic are they all, like thunderbolts in action,
'With their hindquarters hewn of granite, anvil-headed."

"But especially on the auspicious day of Monday, the weekday of the august accession, the sovereign's whole attention is devoted to opening wide the portals of every kind of pleasure, and every cause of delectation; while neither injury nor harm may reach a living being. Yet this latter is inevitable in the battling of these animals, huge as mountains, and fighting like demons. At times some of the spectators sink into annihilation beneath the limbs of these two four-legged Bi-sutuns[3]; while sometimes these will slay each other through excess of emulation and the fury of their wrath.

"It came to pass on Tuesday the 29th [Zu-l-qa'dah A.H. 1042] that by the Emperor's commands two elephants, of the famous and magnificent royal herd, were set to fight beneath the balcony for public appearance [*jharoka darshan*] of the mansion inhabited by the Emperor in the days when he was a prince. One of these was the tusker Sidhkar, the other with no tusks was named Surat-Sundar: both huge as mountains, swift as clouds, and roaring like thunder, so that from terror at their trumpeting a troubled cry arose in the highest heaven; and in the field of battle they looked on fire as water, on rivers as a mirage.

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1 H. S. Keene, *Sketch of the history of Hindustan,* London, 1885, p. 185.

2 *Badshah Namah,* Vol. I, pp. 489 ff.

3 *Bisutun* (lit. without a pillar) or *Behistun* is the name of a mountain in Persia which is best known in connection with the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes.

"These two gigantic beasts that like the raging hurricane or roaring sea would uproot an opponent's fixed position with one movement, or extinguish an adversary's lamp of life with a single breath, fell to in the field of strife, and with their rock splitting charges shook the foundations of the earth.

"In their vicious struggles they moved a little way from the far-seeing Emperor's field of view, and continued fighting at the foot of the audience balcony of the palace inside the Fort.

"The ruler of the world Shah Jahan, anxious to see the spectacle, mounted, and accompanied by his good fortune, moving as lord of the luminaries of heaven, started for the spot. A few paces in front of him rode the princes of exalted dignity who became absorbed in viewing this wondrous entertainment. On the right of Sidhkar was that chief star in the mansion of felicity, Muhammad Dara Shukoh, and on the left the jewel of the casket of royalty, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur; and the head and source of good fortune, Muhammad Aurangzeb.

"When these two fiery and ferocious beasts drew apart, backing several paces, they left a short space between them, whereupon Sidhkar, seeing his antagonist at a distance, in that vicious condition of passion, kept every moment making charges and violent rushes from excess of rage and anger, and then ran towards that champion of the lists of bravery, Muhammad Aurangzeb. He, that warrior like Rustam and hunter of elephants, moved [not] from his place, holding firmly with the hand of heroism the bridle reins of his steed, swift as wind or lightning; for by reason of its exceeding swiftness,

'He could not take his saddle from its back,
Unless his two hands clasped it to his breast.
Through courage he moved not one hair's breadth from his place,
From facing a torrent he turned not aside.
From firmness of nature and excessive keenness
Throughout his body nought moved save his pulse.'

"When the elephant had come close, by the aid of heaven and the imperial power of surmounting difficulties, he stretched forth the arm of valour and with his spear wounded that ferocious, diabolical beast on its forehead.

'By nature's impulse bravely he behaved,
[At bare fifteen] when none had looked for it.
Even Afrasiyab[1] at such an age
To see an elephant, had swooned away.'

"The residents of the holy enclosures and the constant attendants at the oratories of mankind breathed out, on behalf of the hand and strong arm of that apple of the eye of sovereignity [Aurangzeb] charms invoking the averting of danger, and the sound sleepers of the sleep of forgetfulness awoke at the shouting of praise and applause. The spectators were lost in amazement. When the Mighty Lord, His Majesty, the second Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction, in the flower of his youth made the body of a raging tiger food for his blood-drinking and dragon-like sword (as will be here recorded) the display of like prowess by his sons is not to be marvelled at.

1 Afrasiyab, a mythical king of Turan, who conquered Persia.

'The tiger's cub is e'er a tiger born.'

"The more enraged on being wounded, the brute drew nearer intent on mischief. In spite of the kindling and throwing of catherine wheels and rockets,[1] through which the terrestrial globe from the violence of the flames had become a globe of fire, all was in vain. It [the elephant] striking the Prince's horse with its tusks, threw it down. That tiger in the forest of bravery [Aurangzeb] fell from his saddle on to the ground. Promptly and quickly, in a second, he rose with his hand on the hilt of his sword.

"The Prince of exalted rank, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur, beholding things in such a pass—the way being obstructed by the crowd of people and the great quantity of fireworks and the spreading of their smoke—hastily turned the reins of his bay horse, moving like the heavens, in order to draw near and use his spear. Suddenly, just as he was riding to the attack, a catherine wheel struck the horse on the forehead. It reared, and that priceless person [Shah Shuja'] fell off. Raja Jai Singh, son of Raja Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Raja Man Singh also rode at the elephant. As his horse shied and would not face the elephant, he moved away to the right of it and flung his spear.

"At this moment * * * * His Majesty, the King of Kings, in his own pure person, came to the spot and issued an order that the mace-bearers and all the others having the felicity of belonging to his retinue, should make an advance.

"When Surat-Sundar found his opponent in the fight was otherwise engaged, he seized the opportunity and renewed the attack. Sidhkar, finding it impossible to turn round, took to flight. Surat-Sundar turned his head to pursue the fugitive and both, heedless of ups and downs, fled like the wind.

"The Prince [Aurangzeb], watched by Fortune and protected by the guardianship of the Eternal, acquired a new lease of life by seeing the sun-like countenance of the King of the world and the age. The God-fearing monarch first drew into his loving embrace that newly-grown plant in the garden of sovereignty, the prince Aurangzeb, and by the kiss of affection conferred the adornment of felicity, and favoured him with many kinds of gifts and the title of "Valiant" (*Bahadur*). Then, he [Shah Jahan] showed favour to that apple of the eye of the state, Muhammad Shah Shuja' Bahadur, and opened his pearl-showering lips in words of praise and admiration.

"On Friday the 2nd Zil-Hijjah of the year 1042, equivalent to the 21st of Khurdad, which was the day of weighment of the 15th year of the elephant-overthrowing prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur, that Potentate and River of gifts [Shah Jahan] caused that star in the mansion of kingship [Aurangzeb] to be weighed in the Hall of Private and Public Audience against red coin [gold] and made over the amount, being 5,000 *Ashrafi* to that fortunate person [Aurangzeb], and exalted that one of lofty disposition with the gift of robes of honour; a jewelled aigrette; a chaplet of pearls adorned with several rubies and emeralds of great price; a jewelled bracelet; and armlet jewelled with diamonds; many kinds of rings set in rubies, cornelians, diamonds and pearls; a jewelled hanger; a *phul* dagger; a jewel-

1 On this custom *cf.* Bernier, *Voyages,* Vol. II, p. 55.

hilted sword; a shield; jewelled belts; a jewelled spear; two *qibjaq*[1] horses, one of them named Sarfaraz with a jewelled saddle, the other with gold and enamel trappings; the elephant Sidhkar along with a female. The total value of the present was two *lakhs* of rupees.

"Clever writers of Persian and Hindustani produced the story of that doer of Rustam-like deeds [Aurangzeb] both in verse and prose, and filled full the skirt of their expectation with liberal presents. Sa'idai of Gilan, having the title of Bedil Khan, wrote this man-testing adventure in verse, and laid it before the pure Place of petition [Shah Jahan]. By royal order he was weighed against coin and received the amount equivalent to his weight, namely 5,000 rupees."

I may mention here that Maulvi Nur Bakhsh has been fortunate enough to obtain at Delhi a manuscript copy of a Persian Poem in honour of Aurangzeb's valour by Abu Talib Kalim, another court poet of Shah Jahan[2].

The historical elephant-fight at which Aurangzeb displayed so great courage seems to have been as favourite a subject with the painters as with the poets of the Moghul Court. The Delhi Museum of Archaeology possesses an ancient picture on which the scene is treated with great fidelity. The centre of the picture is occupied by the massive black elephant Sidhkar which is opposed by Aurangzeb seated on his prancing white horse and thrusting his spear in its trunk. In the background, the other elephant, Surat-Sundar, is shown running after its opponent, the action being very well expressed by the artist. Shah Jahan with his two sons Dara Shukoh and Shah Shuja', all on horseback, are also visible in the background, the last-mentioned evidently coming to the rescue of his brother. Another horseman, probably Raja Jai Singh of Amber, is seen in the foreground ready to attack the elephant with his raised spear. Numerous attendants armed with long sticks, to the end of some of which cressets are attached, surround the group. Shah Jahan and his three sons are not only distinguished by haloes, but each of them has his name written in Persian, so that there cannot be the slightest doubt with regard to the subject of the picture and the identity of the actors.

The Lahore Museum also possesses a sketch illustrating the scene of Aurangzeb's valour above-described, but it is evidently a late copy, as in several important points it does not agree so well with the contemporaneous account as the Delhi picture. Presumably it was made in Kangra in the 18th century, the names of the persons represented being written, not in Persian, but in Nagari. The central group of Aurangzeb and the elephant is rendered in very much the same way as on the older picture. But the second elephant is absent. Shah-Shuja' has been replaced by his brother Murad Bakhsh and a sixth horseman has been introduced, who according to the inscription represents Mahabat Khan (Khan Khanan). It will be noticed that the Badshah Namah mentions neither Murad Bakhsh nor Khan Khanan.

One of the panels (No. 12) on the Lahore Fort also might quite well be taken as an illustration of Aurangzeb's youthful exploit narrated in such flowery style by

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1 Qibjaq or Qibchaq is the name of a desert in Tartary.

2 The Persian text of this poem together with a metrical version in English has been published by Maulvi Nur Bakhsh in continuation of his article on "*A historic elephant fight*" in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society,* Vol. II, pp. 63 ff.

the author of the Badshah Namah. It exhibits a horseman facing an elephant, whose attack he calmly awaits with lifted lance. It should be remembered that this panel is found on that part of the Fort wall which was probably built and decorated in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, about the same time when the event described above took place [1].

An inspection of the tile-mosaics will show how well they agree with the contemporaneous accounts quoted above, though we must of course make allowance for their essentially decorative character. They show us the various stages of the combat. In most cases each elephant is mounted by two men, in agreement with Bernier's description, and on some panels we notice one or two footmen who are trying to separate the animals by means of a cross-shaped cresset or catherine wheel (Persian *charkhi*). This instrument, an invention of Akbar, is described by Abu-l-Fazl [2] in the following terms.

"The *charkhi* is a piece of hollowed bamboo, half a yard and two tassujes long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fuzee, wrapt in paper, is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round, and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire; but people had much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all."

Akbar was also credited with the invention of the *loh langar* (iron anchor), which is described by Abu-l-Fazl as follows. "The *loh langar* is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right forefoot, and the other to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such an extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty."

It is possible that the object attached to the forefoot of one of the two elephants on panel 13 (Plate XVII) is the *loh langar* here described, though I find no evidence that it was used on the occasion of elephant fight.

It seems that under the later Moghuls elephant fights fell into disuse owing to the poverty of the court. Mention is made of one held at Delhi on the 8th August 1712, in the reign of Jahandar Shah [3]. The custom was revived by the Nawabs of Oudh. The Victoria Memorial collection at Calcutta contains a picture (No. 499) labelled: "Nawab Asafud-doulah of Lucknow and Salar Jang of Delhi

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1 The inscription on the Hathi Pol which records the construction of the Shah (or Saman) Burj is dated in the 4th year of Shah Jahan's reign or A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1631), whilst the elephant fight, at which Aurangzeb distinguished himself, took place in A. H. 1042. It is, however, possible that at the time when the inscription was recorded the decorative work was yet to be completed.

2 *A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 127.

3 Valentyn. *Oud-en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Amsterdam 1726, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 299.

witnessing 'Satmari' or elephant-fight." It shows two fighting elephants each mounted by one man. On each side are three men, one armed with a *charkhi* and two with spears. Bishop Heber [1], on his visit to Lucknow in October 1824, notes: "I had the usual compliment paid me of an offer to have a fight of animals under my window at breakfast, which I declined. It is a sight that religious persons among the Musulmans themselves condemn as inhuman, and I did not want to be reckoned less merciful to animals than their own Moullahs. Nor was the King, who is himself pretty well tired of such sights, displeased, I found, that his elephants and rams had a holiday."

We have noticed on the Fort wall a fine panel (No. 39) showing a group of four camels, two of which are engaged in a fierce fight. We learn from Abu-l-Fazl that camel-fights also were among the entertainments of the Moghul court.

"From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shewn a great liking for this curiously shaped animal; and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Iran and Turan.

"From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these *khàçah* camels, which is named *Shahpasand* ("approved of by the Shah"), is a country bred twelve years old: it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up, every finesse of the art of wrestling." [2]

Among the remarkable collection of miniature pictures exhibited at the Delhi Loan Exhibition in 1911 on the occasion of the Coronation Darbar there was one (No. C 78) [3] showing a number of fighting elephants and other animals, among which a pair of camels are most prominent. It is curious that the position of these two fighting camels is the same as on the panel No. 39 of the Lahore Fort. The picture in question was lent by Seth Sobhag Mal Mehta of Ajmer.

The occurrence of a panel with two fighting bulls (No. 17) would perhaps justify us in including bull-fights also among the recreations of Moghul India, though I have not found them mentioned in literature. I may point out that the same subject occurs in a wall-painting at Fatehpur Sikri [4].

I have noticed in the course of this paper that antelopes also were kept for fighting purposes. That even this kind of sport was not devoid of danger appears from a note in the Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh which relates that in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595) "the King [Akbar], while witnessing an antelope-fight, was wounded in the thigh by one of their horns, which penetrated very deep. Great alarm was felt through-

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1 R. Heber. *Narrative of a journey through the upper Provinces of India,* London 1828, Vol. II, p. 74.

2 *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 143.

3 *Delhi Museum of Archaeology. Loan exhibition of antiquities. Coronation Darbar* 1911. *Catalogue of exhibits* [by J. P. Thompson], p. 75.

4 E. W. Smith, *Moghul architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri,* Part I; plate VIII. Bernier, *Voyages,* Vol. II, pp. 42 f. speaks of "ces grandes Bufles de Bengale avec leurs prodigieuses cornes à combatre le Lion ou le Tygre".

out the country, but after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments, and seating himself on the carpet of affliction, he recovered, by the blessing of God, and restored comfort to the hearts of all the world[1]".

In concluding my account of the animal fights in vogue at the Moghul court, let me quote the following curious note from the A'in-i-Akbari[2].

"Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows. This looks very funny.

His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight, and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their foe.

I am in the power of love; and if I have thousands of wishes, it is no crime;
And if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime.

And in truth, His Majesty's fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love, and an instance of his wonderful insight[3].

It would take me too long to give more details. It is impossible to enumerate all particulars; hence it is better to go to another subject."

1 Elliot, *History of India,* Vol. VI, p. 193.

2 *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 296.

3 "The Historian may thank Abulfazl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the A'in, Abulfazl tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives, in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as 'higher motives' were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in the frog and spider fights, Abulfazl has to recognize the fact that peculiar leanings will lead even a sensible man to oddities and to actions opposed to the general tenor of his character." (Blochmann.)

CHAPTER V.—DATE OF THE TILE-MOSAICS

I now wish to consider the question of the date to be assigned to the tile decoration of the Lahore Fort. Muhammad Latif has no hesitation in maintaining "that the enamelled pottery work which decorates the façade is the work of Jehangir". His assertion is based on a passage in Sir Thomas Herbert, who, according to him, "saw Lahore in 1626 or one year previous to Jehangir's death[1]". In reality, however, Sir Thomas Herbert never visited Lahore at all. His account of that city is copied in a somewhat modified form from William Finch, who actually stayed at Lahore from the 4th February, 1611. But from the passage in Finch it is quite clear that the pictures he describes were wall-paintings or frescoes in one of the palace-buildings and that they cannot possibly be identified with the tile mosaics on the Fort wall.

I quote the passage regarding the paintings in full[2].

"This river [the Ravi] commeth from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie: upon which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the River-ward. Within the Citie on the left hand, you enter thorow a strong gate; and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atescanna for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keeps his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in. In the middest there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go up to a faire stone Jounter[3] or small court, in the middest whereof stands a faire Devoncan[4] with two or three other retiring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the walles is the Kings Picture sitting cross-legged on a chaire of State; on his right hand Sultan Pervese, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret, his sonnes: next these Sha Morat and Don Sha, two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken, were sonnes of this later), next them Emersee Sheriff, eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such, that of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffered any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground there to rot: as also that he alway had in service five hundred Messalgees, in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse [*kos*], no man removed foote with his torch, but stood all alongst to his house); next this man, Emersee Rostene, late King of Candhar, then Can Canna (which signifieth Prince of the Cannes), then Cuttup Caun, Rajaw Manisengo, Caun Asom, Asoph Caun, Sheck Fereed, Kelish Caun, and Rajaw Juggonat (who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brother's

1 Latif, *Lahore*, pp. 119 f. His mistake has been copied *J. R. A. S.* for 1902-03, p. 220.

2 *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, pp. 53 f. On the personages mentioned in the passage quoted, see Appendix C.

3 *Chauntara, chabutara*=a platform, a court or loggia.

4 *Diwan-khana*=council chamber.

childe). On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing, who beats away flyes, then Rajaw Ramdas, who holds his sword, Sheriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right hand of the King, over the doore is the Picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin Mary. This Devoncan is very pleasantly seated, overlooking the Ravee.

"From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small Court, where is another open Chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich Semianes[1]. From hence you enter into a small Gallery, at the end of which, next the River, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee[2], to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the Acabar sitting in his State, and before him Sha Selim his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes; at the end is a small Devoncan, where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small Moholl[3] of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for severall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the River, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne over-head many Pictures of Angels with Pictures of Banian Dews[4], or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge hair, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frightened therewith. Within this court is a pleasant Devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

"Now to return to the former court, where the Adees[5] or Guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar, beyond it another small court with Atescanna, and passing thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, calles the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a Devoncan (or Hall), a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the River. Before the Moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly Pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many

1 *Shamiyana*=an awning.

2 *Darshan*=public appearance of a monarch.

3 *Mahall*=a palace.

4 Hindu-gods.

5 *Ahadi,* vulgo *ahdi.* A body of Indian veterans of the time of the Emperor Akbar, somewhat of the nature of pensioners, but liable to be called out for active service on emergency. Platts, *Dictionary of Urdu,* etc., *i.v., Ahadi.*

portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally [1], behind one punkawing,[2] another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, etc.

"Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and window alongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind the King's lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold; and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire Venice looking-glasses, three and three each above other; and below these alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of Acabar his Father, Hamawne his Grand-father, Babur his great Grand-father, who first set foote into India, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalendars or Fookeers[3] which so came to Dely to Secanders Court then raigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his Successor Abram, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose up a great Captaine [Sher Shah Sur] of the Blood-Royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne neare Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drave him forth of the Kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father, for General) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This King dying, left Acabar very yong, appointed Byrame Caun Protector, whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery [*sic*] or Pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna or Caun of the Caunees, doth also much curbe Sha Selim the King, with his friends and Allyes, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Selim affirmeth himself to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlane the Great, being the Great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull."

In reading this passage, it should be remembered that Finch describes the Lahore palace as it stood in the year 1611, *i.e.,* a few years before the completion of Jahangir's buildings by Ma'mur Khan (A. D. 1617-'18). It is, therefore, extremely difficult to identify the various courts, "jounters" and "galleries" mentioned in the above-quoted account. Many of Jahangir's buildings seem to have disappeared. It is tempting to identify the "faire great square court, with Atescanna for the Kings guard to watch in" with the large square of the Diwan-i-'amm, and "the inner court, where the King keepes his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in" with the so-called Quadrangle of Jahangir.

The inner court evidently contained the Hall of Private Audience or Diwan-i-Khass "wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven[4]". This building perhaps occupied the site of the so-called Bari

1 *Piyali*=a small cup.

2 Fanning; *pankha*=a fan.

3 Faqirs.

4 *Cf.* Bernier, *Voyages,* Vol. II, p. 47, in his description of the Diwan-i-Khass at Delhi: "C'est la que le Roy assis dans une chaire ses Omerahs en pied autour delluy, donne Audience plus particulière à ses Officiers, reçoit leurs

Khwabgah which is usually ascribed to Jahangir, but which in its present form undoubtedly belongs to a much later period. The Private Audience Hall of Jahangir has disappeared and the portraits of the Emperor surrounded by his sons and nobles, described by Finch, have vanished with that edifice.

The tile-mosaics on the palace wall are mentioned neither by Finch nor by Sir Thomas Herbert who copied him. Their silence can hardly be a matter of surprise, if we consider that in 1611, when Finch stayed at Lahore, they very probably had not yet been called into existence.

Maulvi Nur Bakhsh[1] feels inclined to assign the tile-mosaics to the reign of Shah Jahan. He points out that in 'Abdu-l-Hamid's account of the construction of the Shah Burj it is definitely stated that Jahangir only laid the foundations and built the walls up to a height of seven yards. The upper portion of the walls and the surmounting palace buildings were constructed in the reign of Shah Jahan. The tile-decoration of the Shah Burj, he concludes, must therefore belong to the same period. The Maulvi further argues that the Hathi Pol with its inscription of the fourth year of Shah Jahan's accession and the curtain wall connecting that gate with the Shah Burj may safely be ascribed to that emperor.

So far, I quite agree with Maulvi Nur Bakhsh's views, but as regards the north wall his arguments are less convincing. He says that the so-called Chhoti Khwabgah and the minor pavilion of white marble are both the work of Shah Jahan. But this does not prove anything for that portion of the Fort on which those two buildings are raised. As regards the eastern half of the north wall, corresponding to the Quadrangle of Jahangir, it is obvious that it cannot have been built by Shah Jahan. It would, however, be admissible that, though the wall itself was constructed in Jahangir's reign, the decoration was executed under his successor. This is evidently the view held by the Maulvi, who adduces the uniformity of style as an argument in favour of his supposition.

Here, I must confess, I disagree. It seems to me that a close inspection will reveal a marked difference between the tile-mosaics on the north wall and those on the west wall, including the Shah Burj. On the former we have noticed a series of panels each with a standing figure, evidently some satellite of the Moghul court. On the western part of the north wall and on the Shah Burj several panels exhibit two such figures, musicians, gladiators, etc. But no such representations are found on the west wall. Here, on the contrary, we have the beautiful frieze of camels, elephants and horses, which has no counterpart on the other side of the Shah Burj. Again, we have observed that the northern wall contains some curious geometrical mosaics in relief (Plate IV *f*), such as are not found among what I believe to be the later work of Shah Jahan's reign. Though, undoubtedly, the north wall has some very fine panels, they do not, in general, display that perfection of design which we notice on the west wall and on the Shah Burj. This is particularly noticeable in the winged figures which occur on both sides of the Fort. Those on the north wall are clumsy compared with the magnificent angels of the Shah Burj.

contes et traite des affaires les plus importantes de l'Etat. Tous les Omerahs sont obligez de se trouver sans manquer, tous les soirs à cettee Assemblée comme le matin à l'Am-kas [*i.e.* the Diwan-i'amm]."

1 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for* 1902-03, p. 223.

From the above remarks I conclude that the tile decoration was commenced in Jahangir's reign on that portion of the wall which corresponds to the Quadrangle bearing his name. In the early years of Shah Jahan's reign, when the art had attained greater perfection, it was continued, first on the Shah Burj, and then on the adjoining curtain wall; and it reached its zenith and completion on the splendidly decorated Elephant Gate.

In the absence of any other testimony, we are dependent on internal evidence, and I shall be the first to admit that arguments of style are often misleading. But I may add that some of the subjects on the north wall, such as the cup-bearer, and the goat-and-monkey man, would seem to conform best to the taste of that jocund and jovial monarch, Jahangir, whereas, as I have pointed out, there is some reason to associate one scene on the west wall with an event which occurred at the commencement of Shah Jahan's reign.

In this connexion there is one more point which deserves notice. The tile-work on the west wall and on the Shah Burj is infinitely better preserved than that on the north side. Now, it is just the west wall situated opposite the Imperial Mosque, which must have been exposed most to the bombardments of the Sikh period, as is indeed evident from the bullet holes in some of the finest figured panels of the curtain wall adjoining the Hathi Pol.

The decay of the tile-mosaics on the north wall must have been due to some other cause. As it is difficult to account for it from climatic considerations, I assume as the most plausible explanation that this part of the work was carried out at an earlier stage when the technique of the art was still defective and when permanence in the matter of the colour had not yet been attained.

This much may be asserted with certainty, that the tile-mosaics of the Lahore Fort belong to the first-half of the 17th century, *i.e.,* the period during which this decorative art flourished in India. If we wish to fix the date between narrower limits, we may perhaps venture to say that it fell in the decade from A.D. 1620 to 1630, in other words, at the end of Jahangir's reign and the beginning of that of Shah Jahan.

It may seem strange that during the 17th and 18th centuries no European traveller or native historian has made any mention of the tile decoration which undoubtedly constitutes the most remarkable feature of the Lahore Fort. It is only in Sikh times that we find it briefly noticed by Moorcroft and Honigberger. The former[1] remarks: "The palace within this enclosure, called the Saman Burj, which is of many stories, is entirely faced with a kind of porcelain enamel on which processions and combats of men and animals are depictured."

Honigberger[2] says, in his notes on the Lahore Fort: "It has an imposing appearance, and is decorated with a variety of different coloured stones [*sic*], too minute to be represented on a Plate."

The fact that previous authors have left us no notice whatever of the Lahore tile-mosaics, however surprising at first sight, can be partly explained, I think

1 Moorcroft, *Travels,* Vol. I, p. 104.

2 Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East,* Vol. I, p. 198. The absurd expression "coloured stones" seems to be due to the translator. I do not find it in the original.

in a simple manner, namely, from its position on the wall. As long as the Lahore palace was still a royal residence, the common folk (and among these Farangi travellers were naturally reckoned) would enter the Fort by either of the main gates: the Hazuri Bagh Darwaza or the Masti Darwaza. In no case would they be allowed access by the Hathi Pol, which, as we have seen, was the private entrance to the Zanana buildings. The tile decoration would consequently escape their notice. It may be doubted whether any outsider not belonging to the Royal Court was allowed to approach that part of the wall on which the tile-mosaics are found. For it should be remembered that immediately above there were the palace buildings occupied by the emperor and his ladies. It is well known how strict Eastern etiquette is with regard to Zanana arrangements.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the above argument would be valid only for the time the palace was actually occupied by the Court. And this happened comparatively seldom. We also know from Finch that animal fights used to be held on the strip of ground between the Fort and the river Ravi, which in his time flowed close by its walls. At such spectacles the general public were no doubt admitted.

We shall, therefore, reluctantly have to assume that the real reason of the silence of European and Indian writers was simply this, that the tile decoration did not make any great impression on them, and, even if noticed, was not considered worthy of special mention in their letters or journals. For the foreign traveller there were, no doubt, many stranger and more wonderful sights to be seen in the Lahore of the Moghul period. Moreover, it is true that even within the last fifty years, when there has been every opportunity of inspecting the Fort wall, the tile-mosaics have attracted but scant attention. In fact, even among persons who have been residents of Lahore for many years, I have met several who did not know of their existence.

We have all the more reason, therefore, to feel indebted to the generosity of the Government of India for enabling us by the present publication to make the tile-mosaics of the Lahore Fort better known and more appreciated both in India and abroad.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF MONUMENTS AT LAHORE AND DELHI DECORATED WITH TILE-WORK

A.—DELHI

1. Tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur. Date about A.H. 933 (= A.D. 1517), the year of his death. Bands of tilework in foliated and geometrical designs along arches inside tomb proper. Rosettes in spandrels, in which blue tiles are introduced. Entrance gate shows remnants of blue tiles inlaid in plaster over borders of square blue tiles and bricks. Two kiosks in front of gate must once have been covered with tiles. Narrow band of brick-shaped tiles, blue, green and yellow, in *kangurah* design. There must have been square tiles on the sloping surfaces, but all colour has gone. *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *Atharu-s-Sanadid* Part I, p. 89. *J. A. S. B.,* Vol. XXXIX, p. 84 *A.S.*R. Vol. IV, p. 69. Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi,* p. 170. Fanshawe, *Delhi, past and present,* p. 244.

2. Anonymous tomb, known as Shishe Gumbaz or "the glazed Dome". Lodi period. Decorated with bands of deep-blue square tiles and a few tiles in three colours, blue, green and white, apparently inscribed. *Cf.* Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 244.

3. Tomb of Khwaja Khizr at Sonepat, 28 miles north of Delhi. Date A.H. 930 (= A.D. 1524). Battlements show traces of deep-blue tile decoration.

4. Tomb of Maulana Jamali, known as Jamali-Kamali at Old Delhi (Qutb). Date A.H. 935 (A.D. 1529). Border of blue-and-white rectangular tiles (Multan type) in single row, two between sandstone brackets, supporting eaves. Parapet has remnant of foliated border, cornice narrow band of glazed blue bricks, and battlements blue square tiles cut to fit between merlons. Round doorway, traces of tile decoration, deep and light blue and green. Interior has dado of tile-mosaic in geometrical (star) pattern deep and light blue, green and yellow; rectangular panels enclosed in borders; and also borders round the eight niches. Upper portion of walls and ceiling decorated with carved plaster partly inlaid with blue and yellow tiles. *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *op. cit.,* Part I, p. 68. *A. S.* R., Vol. IV, p. 62. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 171. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 278.

5. Open pavilion said to contain the grave of the brother of Maulana Jamali. Band of similar design over eaves, cornice of glazed blue bricks, and band of square tiles of which the colour has almost entirely gone.

6. Mosque at *baoli* of Nizamu-d-Din Auliya. Spandrels decorated with medallions inscribed with the names of God. Along battlements, remnants of deep-blue, green and yellow tiles in *kangurah* design.

7. Gates and kiosks of the enclosure of ʻArab Sarai, 4 miles south of Delhi. Date A.H. 968 (= A.D. 1561). *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *op. cit.,* Part I, p. 32. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 198.

8. Khairu-l-manazil, mosque opposite the Western gate of Purana Qilʻa or Indarpat. Date A.H. 969 (= A.D. 1562). Tile mosaics of geometrical design in spandrels over the central arch and also round the three prayer niches with medallions containing the *kalimah.* Much dilapidated. Usual scheme of colours. *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *op. cit.,* Part I, p. 47. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 199. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 228. Nicholls, *A. S.* R. for 1903-4, p. 25 and plate XI.

9. Nili Chhattri "the blue Pavilion", ruined tomb 3 miles south of Delhi on the road to Muttra. Date A.H. 973 (= A.D. 1566). Apparently the whole outer surface once decorated with tile-mosaics consisting of bands of geometrical design, scroll and flower ornament in the spandrels with inscriptions. Usual scheme of colours. *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *op. cit.,* Part I, p. 48. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 210. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

10. Tomb of Shamsu-d-Din Atgah Khan, surnamed A'zam Khan, the fosterfather of the Emperor Akbar, at the Dargah of Nizamu-d-Din Auliya. Date A.H. 974 (= A.D. 1567). Tomb proper decorated with mosaics of white marble, deep blue and green tiles in geometrical pattern, placed in spandrels and panels. Mosque (mere wall with three prayer niches) with broad band of geometrical design round the central niche and flower-and-scroll decoration on panels and in the spandrels of the three *mihrabs*. Usual scheme of five colours. Band of blue tiles alternating with red-stone round *mihrabs*. *Cf.* Sayyid Ahmad, *op. cit.,* Part I, p. 44. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 116. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

11. Old mosque outside the Delhi Gate of the City near the ruined mansion of Mahabat Khan. Chronogram of inscription gives A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575). Tile mosaics in geometrical designs of five colours round the prayer-niches, also round the inscribed marble tablet over the central archway. *Cf. A. S. R.* Vol. IV, p. 72.

12. Sabz Posh or "green-clad", a square tomb near the village of Nizamu-d-Din Auliya. Moghul period. The high-necked dome points to a late date, perhaps the reign of Shah Jahan. High drum decorated with square tiles. Fragment of a medallion with inscription, apparently the *kalimah* on the west side, and also over the entrance on the east side, where it is better preserved. Usual scheme of colours. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

13. Nila Gumbaz "The Blue Dome" or Nila Burj, near the S.-E. corner of the Tomb of Humayun. Believed to be the tomb of Fahim Khan erected about 1625 A.D. The dome is covered with dark blue tiles. Fanshawe, *op. cit.,* p. 233.

B.—LAHORE

16th century

1. Tomb of Shaikh Musa Ahangar or "Moses the Blacksmith", the patron Saint of the blacksmiths, known as Nila Gumbaz "the blue Dome", north of Qila' Gujar Singh. Dome faced with small glazed bricks of blue colour, drum with square blue-and-white tiles, tomb proper with a frieze of square, blue-and-white tiles. *Cf.* Thornton (*Lahore*, pp. 145, 148 and 151) calls it Pathan, but states that it was built in the reign of Akbar. Latif (*Lahore,* pp. 204 and 393) asserts that Shaikh Musa died in A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519) and that his tomb was built in the time of Ibrahim Lodi, but quotes the A'in-i-Akbari (Blochmann p. 539), where it is stated that he died in the beginning of Akbar's reign. The latter statement is correct. *Cf. Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Lucknow 1875), p. 394.

REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN (A.D. 1628-1658)

A.D. 1630='40[1]

2. West and north walls of the Lahore Fort with the Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate. Inscription on the latter dated A.H. 1041 (= A.D. 1631). The earliest portions possibly belong to the reign of Jahangir. *Cf.* above p. 54.

3. Mosque of Wazir Khan, built A.H. 1044 (= A.D. 1634). *Cf.* J. L. Kipling, *Journal of Indian Art,* July 1887, No. 19; and F. H. Andrews, *ibidem,* July 1903. Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 47. Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 216.

4. Tomb of Asaf Khan Yaminu-d-Daulah, brother of the Empress Nur Jahan, at Shahdara. Lower, vertical portions of outer bays decorated with rectangular, slightly sunk panels containing

1 Furnival (*Leadless Decorative Tiles,* p. 122) includes in his list a tomb of Farid Pakkiwala built in A.D. 1621 and the tomb of Myan Mir built about A.D. 1640 (he died in 1635).

square and rectangular tiles. Upper, vaulted portion of bays with tile-mosaics. Date after A.H. 1051 (= A.D. 1641). *Cf.* Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 125. Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 108.

5. Mosque of Da'i Anga, the wetnurse of Shah Jahan (*cf.* beneath No. 17), so-called "Railway Mosque" near Railway Station. Date A.H. 1045 (= A.D. 1635). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 163.

6. Two gates of the garden Shalimar Bagh, laid out by 'Ali Mardan Khan, on the road to Amritsar. Completed in A.H. 1047 (= A.D. 1637). *Cf.* Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 84. Latif, *op. cit.,* pp. 140 and 246. *Journal of Indian Art,* Vol. VI (1896), No. 95. *Historical Buildings* Nos. 78-81 (Tilework on gateways Nos. 79-80). For historical references *cf.* Valentyn, *Ouden Nieuw Oost-Indiën,* Vol. IV, p. 289, Osborne, *Camp and Court of Ranjit Singh,* p. 140. W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, etc.* (1819-1825), London 1841. Vol. I, p. 91. Hügel, p. 311. J. M. Honigberger, *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande,* Wien 1851, p. 135. Amin Chand, *Zafar-Namah,* p. 25.

7. Mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir (A.D. 1605-27) at Shahdara. According to Muhammad Salih, built by Shah Jahan, presumably between A.D. 1627 and 1630. *Cf.* Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 86. Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 104. *Historical Buildings,* Nos. 68-76 (tile-mosaics Nos. 73, 74). *Cf.* Moorcroft, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 108, Hügel p. 258.

A.D. 1640='50

8. Gateway of the garden of Zebu-n-nisa or Zebinda Begam, the poetess and eldest daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb (*cf.* beneath No. 14). The building, which stands on the road to Multan, is now-a-days known as 'Chauburji,' *i.e.* 'Four-tower'. Inscription dated A.H. 1056 (=A.D. 1646). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.,* pp. 188 f.

A.D. 1650='60

9. Mosque of Muhammad Salih Kumboh, the historian. The building, which stands within the walled city in the vicinity of the Mochi Gate, is known as Chinianwali Masjid. Date A.H. 1070 (=A.D. 1659). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 223.

10. Gateway of the former Gulabi Bagh or 'Rose Garden' on the road to Amritsar. Constructed by Mirza Sultan Beg. Inscription dated A.H. 1066 (= A.D. 1655). *Cf.* Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 84. Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

Uncertain date

11. Tomb of Badru-d-Din Shah 'Alam, a Bukhari Sayyid, known as Sabz Gumbaz or 'the Green Dome', south of the Fort. The people on the spot call it the tomb of Haji 'Abd-u-llah Bukhari, *vulgo* Sabz Pir. Built by Sa'dullah Khan, Wazir of the Emperor Shah Jahan, in the latter's reign. Dome and neck faced with small glazed bricks of green colour (whence the popular name), but on the dome the colour has almost disappeared. Walls decorated in usual manner (panels and spandrels). Dome and parapet in *kangurah* pattern, the latter deep blue and ochre. *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 228.

12. Small mosque of Wazir Khan, the Governor of Lahore under the Emperor Shah Jahan, at the Taksali Gate. *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

13. Gateway (known as Chintgarh) of the tomb of 'Ali Mardan Khan, the engineer of the Emperor Shah Jahan, 4½ miles south of the Amritsar road. 'Ali Mardan Khan died on the 16th April 1657 A.D. and was buried in the mausoleum of his mother (Latif). *Cf.* L. Kipling, *Journal of Indian Art* 1887, No. 19. Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 84. Latif, *op. cit.,* p. 152.

REIGN OF AURANGZEB (A.D. 1658-1707).

A.D. 1660='70

14. Tomb of Zebu-n-nisa or Zebinda Begam, the poetess and eldest daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb (*cf.* above No. 8), at Nawan Kot, 3 miles from Lahore on the road to Multan. The principal gateway to the east and the two adjoining corner pavilions of the garden enclosure are decorated with tile-mosaics. The garden was laid out between A.D. 1646 and 1669, the latter being the year of Zebu-n-nisa's death. *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

A.D. 1670='80

15. Mosque of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, Faujdar of Lahore under the Emperor Aurangzeb, known as Chinianwali Masjid, in Mahalla Chabuk-Sawaran. Date A.H. 1082 (= A.D. 1671). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

16. Tomb of Da'i Anga, the wetnurse of the Emperor Shah Jahan (*cf.* above No. 5) and Sultan Begam on the road to Amritsar. Inscription dated A.H. 1082 (= A.D. 1671). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Uncertain date

17. Mosque of 'Abdullah Khan, Naib of Fidai Khan, the foster-brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb, known as Taksal-wali Masjid, near the Taksali Gate. Said to be contemporaneous with the Badshahi Masjid. *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

REIGN OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

(A.D. 1719=1748.)

18. Tomb of Sharfu-n-nisa Begam, sister of Zakariyya Khan, Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan, Governor of Lahore, known as Sarw-wala Maqbarah 'the Cypress Tomb', on the road to Amritsar (north side). *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

19. Mosque of Zakariyya Khan, Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan, Governor of Lahore, at the village of Begampura, north of Amritsar road. *Cf.* Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

APPENDIX B

ANALYSIS OF KASHI WORK

Messrs. T. H. Thornton and J. L. Kipling's *Lahore* (pp. 148-150) contains the following. 'Analysis of Kashi work by the late Dr. Center, Chemical Examiner to the Punjab Government'. As the book in which it appeared is scarce, Dr. Centre's note is reproduced here in full.

"The Kashi work consists essentially of a layer of glass spread on a hard kind of plaster,—sometimes on a material porcelaneous in structure. On analysis the glass was found to be an ordinary silicate colored by metallic oxides. The plaster was found to be composed of a mixture of lime and siliceous sand, the hardness being due to silication, which accounts for its bearing the heat required to fuse glass. It is remarkable that an old Buddhist cast was found to be composed of a similar material. I got specimens made at the laboratory by an old man who practises the art at Lahore, but the work was very inferior. The glaze wanted purity and polish, and he made his plaster as hard as a stone. The finest specimens in Lahore are to be seen on Wazir Khan's Masjid, where the glazing is very fine, but the plaster is easily broken, so that it has been destroyed in many places.

"The work consists of three parts: 1st, the plaster called khamir; 2nd, the glass called kanch; and 3rd, a material called asthar, put between them [1]. The first operation is to make an easily fusible glass by melting powdered siliceous sandstone with carbonate of soda. Portions of the glass are pounded, mixed and fused with metallic oxides to produce glasses of various colours. Considerable skill was shown in producing the oxides from the metals or from the raw materials of the bazar. In particular, a species of black sand got from Ajmer is used to furnish three colors—black, green and blue. It contains sulphuret of copper and magnetic iron sand. These were separated by washing according to their specific gravities, and were reduced to oxides in the furnace.

"The khamir is made by mixing siliceous sand, lime and a quantity of the pounded glass first prepared, and according to the quantity of glass used it turns out a hard kind of mortar, or has a porcelaneous structure. It is made into a paste with rice water, and cut into pieces suitable for the pattern. It is then dried at a gentle heat, and afterwards covered with the asthar, which consists of lime or pounded glass containing a large quantity of lead. This is suspended in a viscid fluid and painted on the plaster, and its use is to cover small inequalities and to act as a medium to unite the glass and the plaster.

"The colored glasses are then pounded, suspended in a viscid fluid, made from mucilaginous plants and painted over the asthar, and the whole is placed in the furnace till all the glass on the surface is fused. The pieces of the pattern are then put in their places and fixed by cement."

APPENDIX C

PICTURES IN THE LAHORE FORT NOTICED BY WILLIAM FINCH

In the passage quoted above (pp. 50 ff.) Finch gives the following list of historical persons represented in these pictures:

"The King"—Muhammad Salim Nuru-d-Din, Jahangir, the reigning Emperor (A.D. 1605-1627).

"Sultan Pervese"—Sultan Parwiz, second and favourite son of the Emperor Jahangir, was born in Muharram 998 A.H. (November 1589 A.D.). *Cf. Memoirs of Jahangir,* Vol. I, pp. 18 f. When Khurram (Shah Jahan) rebelled in 1622, Parwiz was sent against him. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 28th October 1626 at Burhanpur.

"Sultan Caroome" (later: Coroome)—Sultan Khurram *alias* Shah Jahan, third son of Jahangir, was born at Lahore on the 5th January 1592 A.D. (1000 A.H.). He reigned from 1628 to 1658 and died in 1666, having spent the last years of his life in confinement in the Agra Fort.

"Sultan Timoret"—Sultan Tahmurath, was the son, not of Jahangir, but of his brother Daniyal. *Cf. Memoirs of Jahangir,* Vol. II, p. 75. After the death of Jahangir on the 28th October A.D. 1627, he was executed by order of Shah Jahan together with his brother Hushang and Jahangir's youngest son Shahryar.

"Sha Morat"—Shah Murad, second [2] son of Akbar, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram 978 A.H. and died of *delirium tremens* in A.H. 1006.

"Don Sha"—Shah Daniyal, third [2] son of Akbar, was born at Ajmer, on the 1st Jumada-ul-

1 The three terms employed here are of various origin. That used for the plaster is Arabic-Persian *khamir* (خمير) meaning in Hindustani "leaven, earth clay". The word for "glass" is evidently derived from Sanskrit *kacha* (काच) meaning "glass". The term *asthar* I presume to be Persian *astar* (استر) or *āstar* (آستر) meaning "a coating, a lining".

2 Not counting the twins Hasan and Husain, born 3rd Rabi'-ul-awwal, 972 A.H., who lived only one month.

awwal 979 A.H. and died of *delirium tremens* in A.H. 1013 (April 1604 A.D.). Bada'oni relates that Prince Murad was instructed in the Christian religion by order of Akbar. *Cf. A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 182 f. and 309.

"Emersee Sheriff"—Mirza Sharif, brother of Atgah Khan (Khan A'zam). *Cf. A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 383, No. 63.

"Emersee Rostene"—Mirza Rustam, grandson of the Persian king, Shah Isma'il Safawi. His elder brother, Mirza Muzaffar Husain, surrendered Qandahar to Akbar in A.H. 1003. Mirza Rustam had already joined the Moghal in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1593). He served also under Jahangir, in whose '*Memoirs*' his name is often mentioned. He was pensioned off by Shah Jahan and died at Agra in A.H. 1051 (A.D. 1641) at the age of seventy-two years. *Cf. A'in-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 314, No. 9.

"Can Canna"—Khan Khanan, Mirza 'Abdu-r-rahim, the son of Bairam Khan and one of the most prominent men who served under Akbar and Jahangir. He was born at Lahore in A.H. 964 and died in Delhi in A.H. 1036 at the age of seventy-two. *Cf. A'in,* pp. 334 ff.

"Cuttup Caun"—Qutbu-d-Din Khan-i-Chishti of Fathpur-Sikri, also called Shaikh Khubu, was a foster brother of Jahangir. He was killed by Sher Afgan on 30th May 1607, as is related by Jahangir in his '*Memoirs*' Vol. I, pp. 113 f. and 208. *Cf.* also *A'in* I, 496 f., No. 275.

"Rajah Manisengo"—Raja Man Singh Kachhwaha, adopted son of Bhagawan Das, one of the generals of Akbar and conqueror of Bengal. Jahangir in his '*Memoirs*' (I, 138) calls him "one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this state". His death took place in the Deccan in A.D. 1614, apparently in the month of June. *Ibidem* p. 266. *Cf.* also *A'in* I, pp. 339 ff., No. 30.

"Caun Asom"—Khan-i-A'zam, Atgah Khan, the foster-father of Akbar, was killed by Adham Khan on 12th Ramazan, 969 A.H. *Cf. A'in* I, p. 321; No. 15.

Or—Khan-i-A'zam, Mirza 'Aziz Koka, son of Atgah Khan and, consequently Akbar's foster-brother. He died at Allahabad in A.H. 1033. *Cf. A'in* I, 325; No. 21.

Evidently, the latter Khan A'zam is meant, as the father had died before Jahangir's accession. It should, however, be remarked that Mirza Sharif mentioned above as "eldest brother of Caun Asom" was in reality the brother of the elder Khan A'zam.

"Asoph Caun"—Asaf Khan, Abu-l-hasan, brother of Nur-Jahan and one of the chief nobles of the court of Jahangir, in whose '*Memoirs*' he is often mentioned. *Cf.* also *A'in* I, 510. He died on the 17th Sha'ban, 1051 A.H. (10th November 1641 A.D.) in his seventy-second year and was buried at Lahore.

"Sheck Fereed"—Shaikh Farid Bukhari, the trusted general of Jahangir who conferred on him the title of Murtaza Khan. He brought about Jahangir's accession. As Governor of the Panjab he was appointed to lead an expedition against the fort of Kangra, but died at Pathan-kot in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616). *Cf. A'in* I, pp. 413 ff. and *Memoirs*, *passim*.

"Kelish Caun"—Qulij Khan was employed in various capacities by Akbar and Jahangir. By the end of Akbar's reign he occupied the governorship of the Panjab and Kabul. He died at Peshawar in A.D. 1613 at the age of eighty years. Blochmann (transl. *A'in* I, 34, footnote) gives the year of his death erroneously as A.D. 1625-'26. But the mistake is corrected *ibidem* p. 354, footnote 2. *Cf.* also '*Memoirs*' I, p. 253.

"Rajaw Juggonat"—Raja Jagannath, son of Raja Bihari Mall Kachhwaha and younger brother of Raja Bhagawan Das. Jagannath took part in several expeditions against the Rana during the reign of Akbar. He was still alive in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, as appears from that Emperor's '*Memoirs*' (I, 16) and was promoted in the fourth year of his reign. He must have

died shortly afterwards, about A.D. 1610, as Finch's visit to Lahore took place in 1611. *Cf. A'in*, p. 387; No. 69.

"Rajaw Bowsing"—Raja Bhau Singh, son of Raja Man Singh Kachhwaha of Amber. Jahangir, who conferred on him the title of Mirza Raja, often mentions him in his Memoirs. Bhau Singh died in the 16th year of Jahangir's reign (A.D. 1621-22) from excessive drinking, after his elder brother Jagat Singh and his nephew Maha Singh had died from the same cause (*Memoirs* II, p. 218f.).

"Rajaw Ramdas"—Raja Ram Das, son of Raja Raj Singh Kachhwaha and grandson of Raja Askaran, the brother of Raja Bihari Mall. Ram Das also is often mentioned by Jahangir in his '*Memoirs*'. In the beginning of the 12th year of his reign the Emperor conferred on him the title of Raja (*Memoirs* I, p. 379). *Cf.* also *A'in*, p. 458.

"Sheriff Caun"—Sharif Khan the intimate friend of Jahangir, who conferred on him the title of Amiru-l-Umara. He died in the year 1021 A.H. (= 1612 A.D.). *Cf. A'in,* p. 517 and *Memoirs*, *passim*.

"Caun John"—Khan Jahan Lodi, was Governor of Multan under Jahangir, who often mentions him in his '*Memoirs*'. (See particularly I, p. 89.) During Shah Jahan's reign, Khan Jahan Lodi fled from court, was pursued and killed on 28th January 1631.

"Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun"—Zamana Beg, Mahabat Khan, played a prominent part during the reign of Jahangir, whom for a time he held a prisoner. He died in 1634 in the Deccan. At the time of his death he was Khan Khanan and head of the military administration. (*Cf.* Elliot VI, 288.)

"Mocrow Bowcan[1]"—Muqarrab Khan, *alias* Shaikh Hasan, one of the favourite nobles of Jahangir and for a time Governor of Cambay. He was a skilled surgeon. See *Memoirs*, *passim*.

"Rajaw Bossow"[2]—Raja Basu of Mau and Pathan-[kot] submitted to Akbar in the 35th year of his reign after the expedition of Zain Khan in the Panjab Hills, but rebelled again twelve years later. He stood in high favour with Jahangir (*Memoirs* I, 49). He died in the 8th year of that Emperor's reign (*Memoirs* I, 252). His sons Suraj Mall and Jagat Singh rebelled against Jahangir and Shah Jahan respectively. Raja Basu was the founder of Nurpur (Kangra district) which was named after the Emperor Nuru-d-Din Jahangir (*Memoirs* II, 226).

"Rajaw Ransing"—(?) Rai Rai Singh Rathor, son of Rai Kalyan Mall of Bikaner, served under Akbar and Jahangir. He died in the year A.H. 1021 (= A.D. 1612). *Cf. A'in,* p. 357; No. 44 and *Memoirs*, *passim*.

"Majo Kesso"—(?) Kesho Das, son of Rai-Kalah (?) (*cf. Memoirs* I, 181) or more probably Kesho Das Maru (Rathor ?) frequently mentioned in the *Memoirs*.

"Lala Bersing"—Bir Singh Deo Bundela, the murderer of Abu-l-Fazl. *Cf. Memoirs, passim*.

The corresponding passage in Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels* mentions moreover:—

Rajea Rodorow rebelle—(?) Raja Rudar Rao of Kumaon mentioned in the *Memoirs* I, 218.

"Mansingh" mentioned after "Ransing" can be none other than Man Singh. See above under "*Manisengo*".

The pictures described at such length by Finch have entirely vanished. At least, one can scarcely hope that any portion thereof still survives under the white-wash which was used with

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1 In the corresponding passage from Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels* we find Mocrib Chan Parasite (*sic*).

2 Later on Finch has a note on "Lands lying easterly from Lahore, with their Lords", which commences: "Alongst the Ravee Easterly lyeth the land of Rajaw Bossow, whose chiefe seate is Tem-mery [*i.e.*, Dhameri, the old name of Nurpur], 50 c. from Lahor. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogol, a great Minion of Sha Selim."

such liberality in the Lahore Fort during its military occupation. From Finch's account it would appear that the pictures in question had been executed partly in the reign of Akbar and partly in that of Jahangir. For, on the walls of the "Devoncan" or *diwan-khana* first described, the latter was pictured "cross-legged on a chaire of State" and surrounded by his sons and nobles, evidently as the reigning king. It is somewhat surprising to find among the number of Jahangir's attendants his two brothers Shah Murad and Shah Daniyal who had both died of excessive drinking before his accession. Jahangir says in his *Memoirs*: "My brothers Sultan Murad and Daniyal, who had died in the lifetime of my revered father, people had called by several names. I ordered that one of them should be called Shahzada Maghfur (the pardoned Prince), and the other Shahzada Marhum (the Prince admitted to mercy)."[1] On the other hand, the list of Jahangir's nobles includes his foster-brother Qutbu-d-Din Khan Koka (*alias* Shaikh Khubu), who did not rise to prominence until the Emperor's accession.

On the wall of the Gallery, next described, "at the end of which, next the River, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee, to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River" there was a representation of Akbar as Emperor and of "Sha Selim [*alias* Jahangir] his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his fist" *viz.*, evidently as heirapparent. These frescoes must, therefore, have been executed in the reign of Akbar, some time after A.D. 1592, the year in which Khurram was born. For in the picture Salim was accompanied by "Sultan Cusseroom (*i.e.,* Khusru), Sultan Pervis (*i.e.,* Parwiz), Sultan Coroome (*i.e.,* Khurram), his three sonnes".

Later on, mention is made of "many pictures of this mans [Jahangir's] Ancestors, as of Acabar [Akbar] his Father, Hamawne [Humayun] his Grand-father, Babur [Babar] his great Grand-father, who first set foote into India with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalendars or Fookeers [*faqirs*] which so came to Dely to Secanders [Sikandar Lodi's] court then reigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne [Humayun] upon his successor Abram [Ibrahim Lodi], from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome". The romantic episode here told about Babar is unknown to history and is indeed incompatible with established facts. It is repeated by other European writers.

Other paintings are described as "many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally (Hindi *piyali*=a small cup), behind one punkawing [fanning, from Hindi *pankha*=a fan], another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, etc." These may have been similar to some of the harem scenes reproduced in François Valentyn's "*Lives of the Great-Moghuls*[2]".

Jahangir in his *Memoirs*[3] speaks of a picture gallery in a garden in Kashmir, which he ordered to be repaired. "In the most honoured positions", he says, "were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own and that of my brother Shah 'Abbas." After them were the likenesses of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Murad, and Sultan Daniyal. On the second storey (row ?) were the likenesses of the Amirs and special servants. On walls of the outer hall the stages of the road to Kashmir were recorded in the order in which I had come to them. A poet fixed the date of this hemistich.

"Pictures of kings of Solomon-like glory."

1 *Memoirs* (Rogers and Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 196 f.
2 *Cf.* François Valentyn, *Onden Nieuw Oost-Indiën,* Vol. IV, Part II, p. 188.
3 *Memoirs,* Vol. II, pp. 162 f.

The date indicated by this chronogram is A.H. 1029, corresponding with A.D. 1620. Evidently this 'picture gallery' was of very much the same nature as the frescoes first described by Finch in the Lahore Fort, but unfortunately they, too, have disappeared. The miniature portraits of the period alone can still convey some idea of their style and artistic merit.

It is a point of special interest that among the pictorial subjects noticed by Finch in the Lahore palace there were not only angels and "Banian Dews" (evidently Hindu deities), but also representations of our Saviour and of the Virgin. There can be little doubt that these really existed; for among the Indian miniatures formerly in the possession of Colonel Hanna and now, I believe, in America, there was one of the Emperor Jahangir sitting in a palace, on the walls of which are a Madonna and an Ecce Homo. It was No. 107 of Colonel Hanna's collection and was described as follows in his catalogue: "Emperor Jahangir in his Palace. This picture shows us the Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627) in his palace, surrounded by his ladies. The faces are full of life and beauty, and the designs of the carpets and pavement very striking. On the wall above the Emperor's head is a picture of deer, over that niches, each holding a vase, and above these painted panels, on one of which, with the help of the magnifying glass, a Madonna, and on another an Ecce Homo can be clearly distinguished. These panels were painted in Akbar's reign, but their presence proves that the son shared the father's tolerant and enlightened views. The back of this picture is beautifully illuminated."

On what evidence Colonel Hanna assumes that the pictures here reproduced were due to Akbar, I do not know. I also doubt whether Jahangir's views are rightly described as "tolerant and enlightened". The presence of the pictures in question, it seems to me, may be more justly explained from his artistic tastes and from his indifference in religious matters, although it must be admitted that his indifference was greater in the popular tradition recorded by Manucci and other European writers, than in his own '*Memoirs*'. Nor should it be forgotten that "*Hazrat 'Isa*" and his mother "*Hazrat Maryam*" are highly reverenced even by orthodox Moslems, who would have had less reason to object to those holy personages occupying a place of honour in the Emperor's palace than to the fact of their being represented at all in pictures. Anyhow, Thevenot was certainly mistaken when he saw in those pictures 'a piece of hypocrisy' on the part of Jahangir.

In this connection I may note that an ambassador of the Dutch East India Company, who visited Lahore in A.D. 1712, saw in the Pari Mahall or 'Fairy Palace' in that city "an image of our Saviour surrounded by the angels hewn very skilfully in alabaster".

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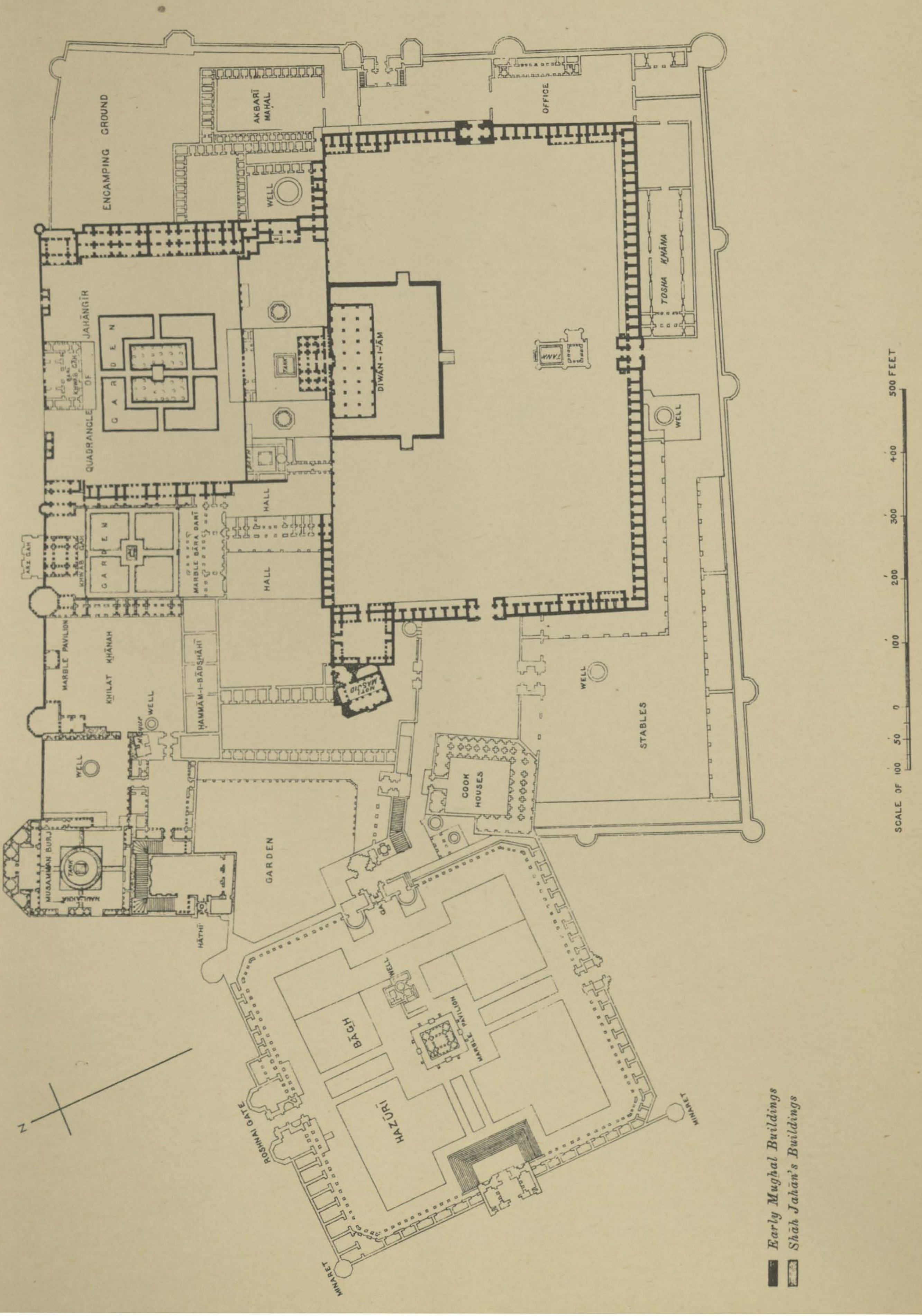
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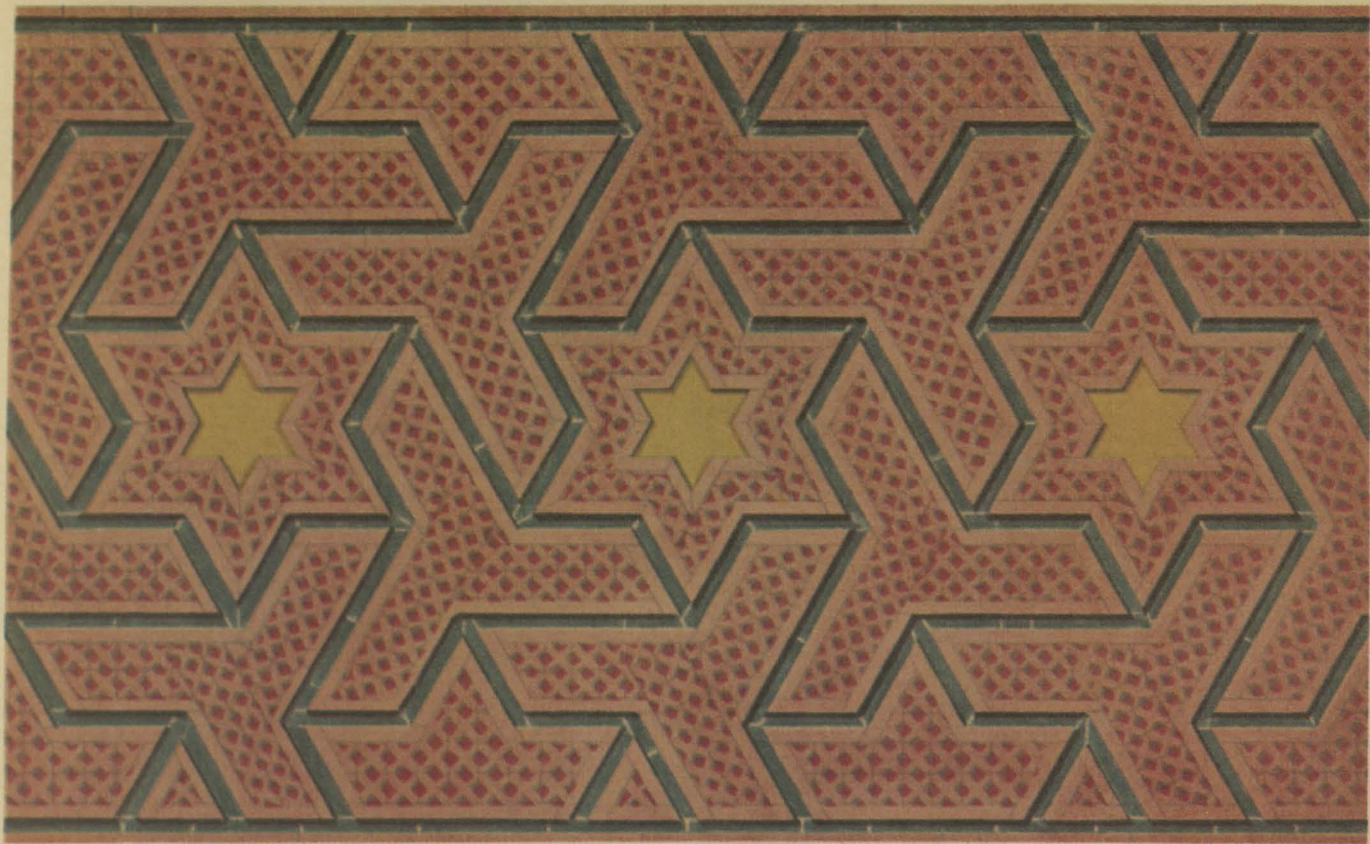
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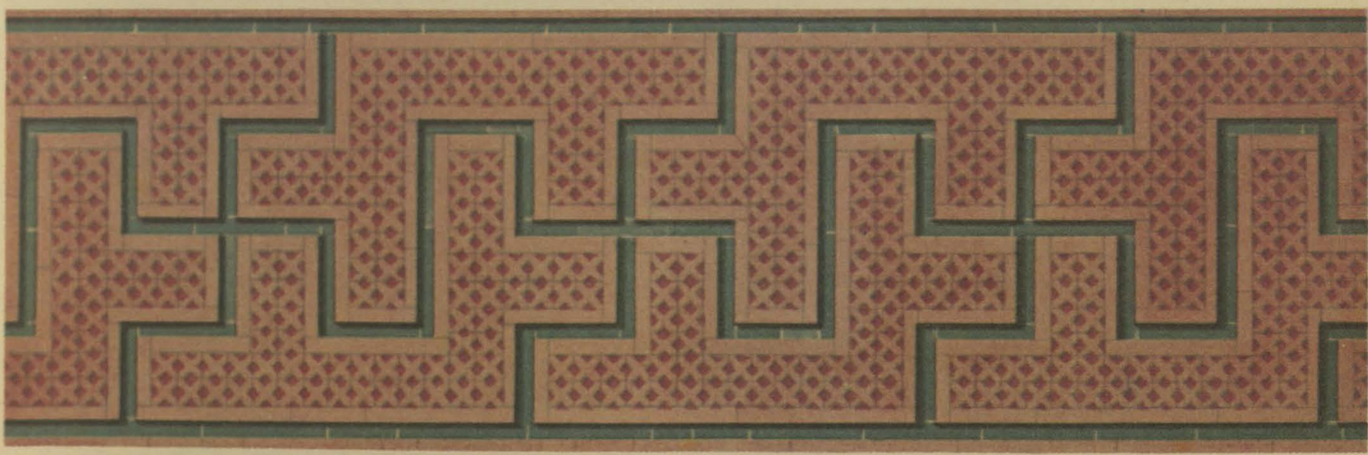
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PLAN OF LAHORE FORT



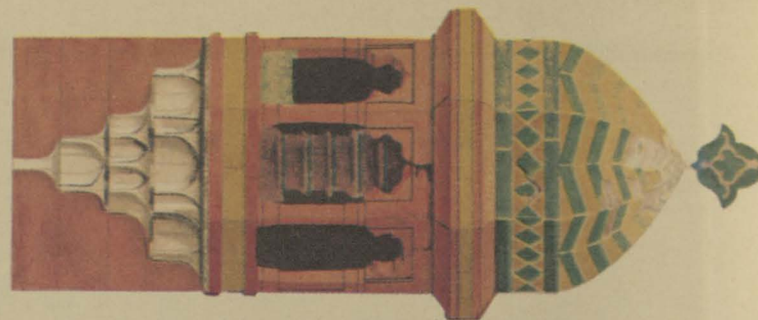
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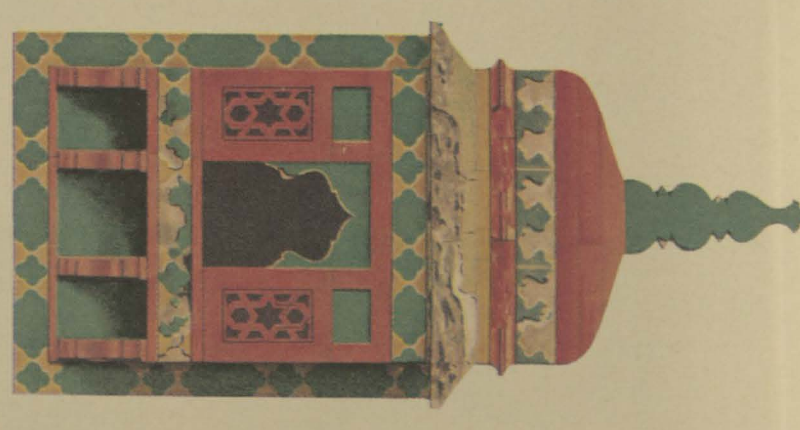
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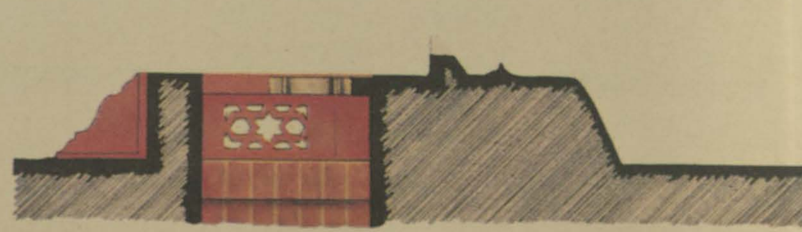
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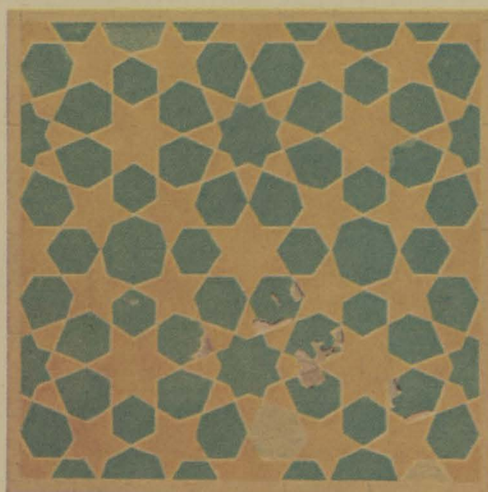
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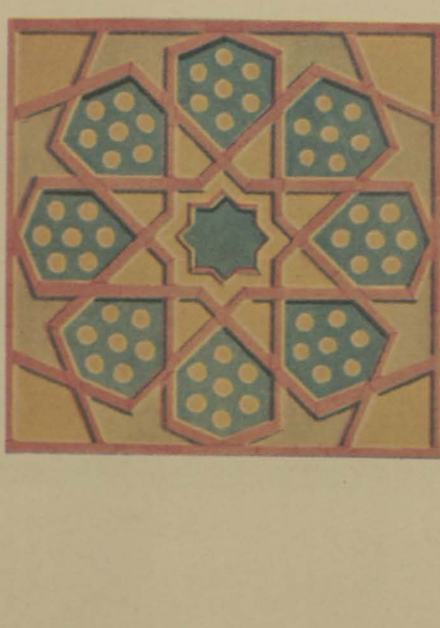
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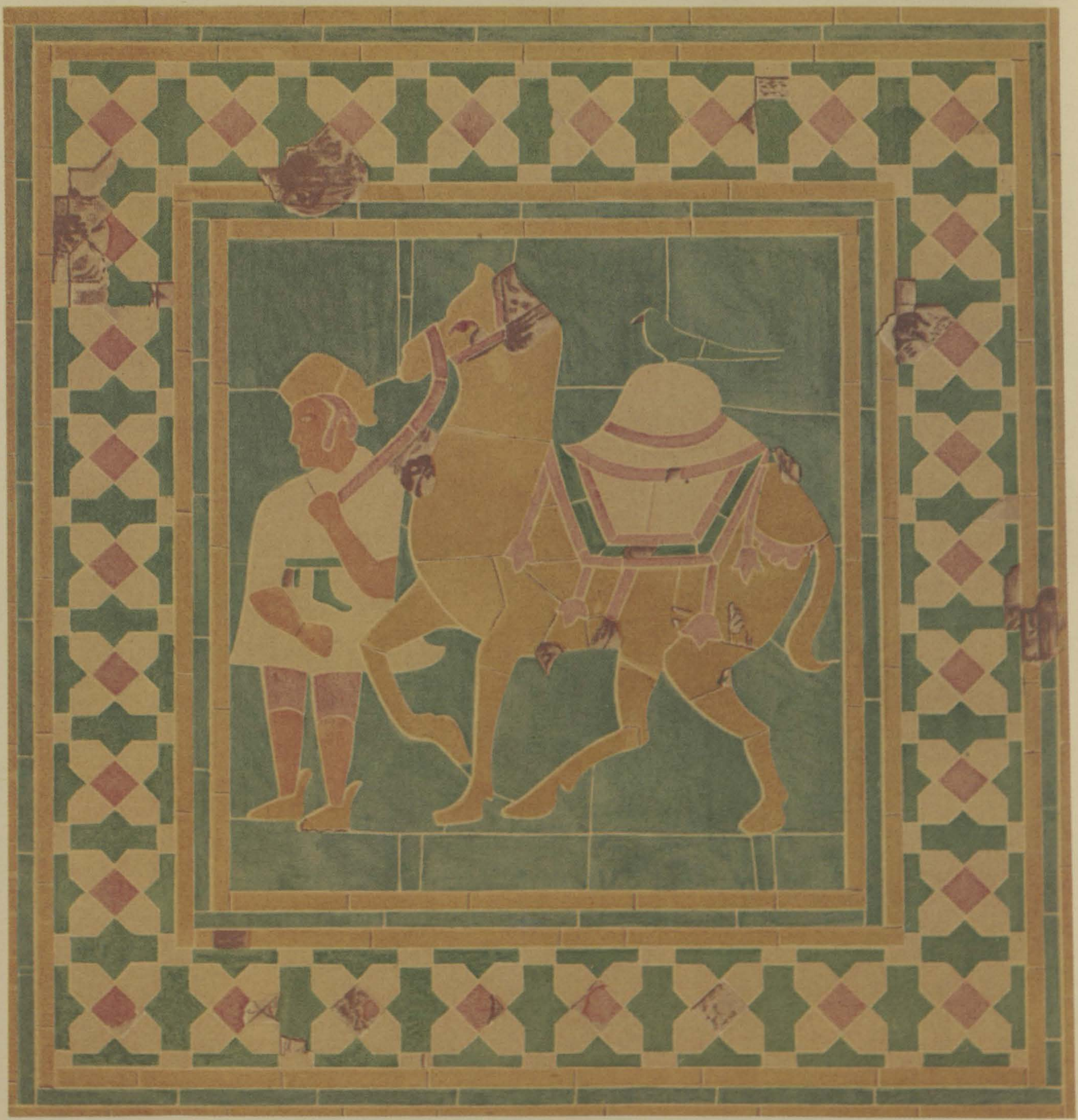
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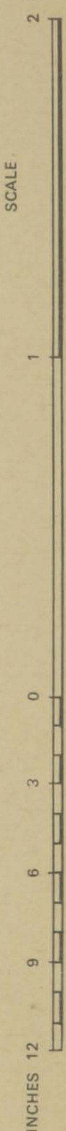
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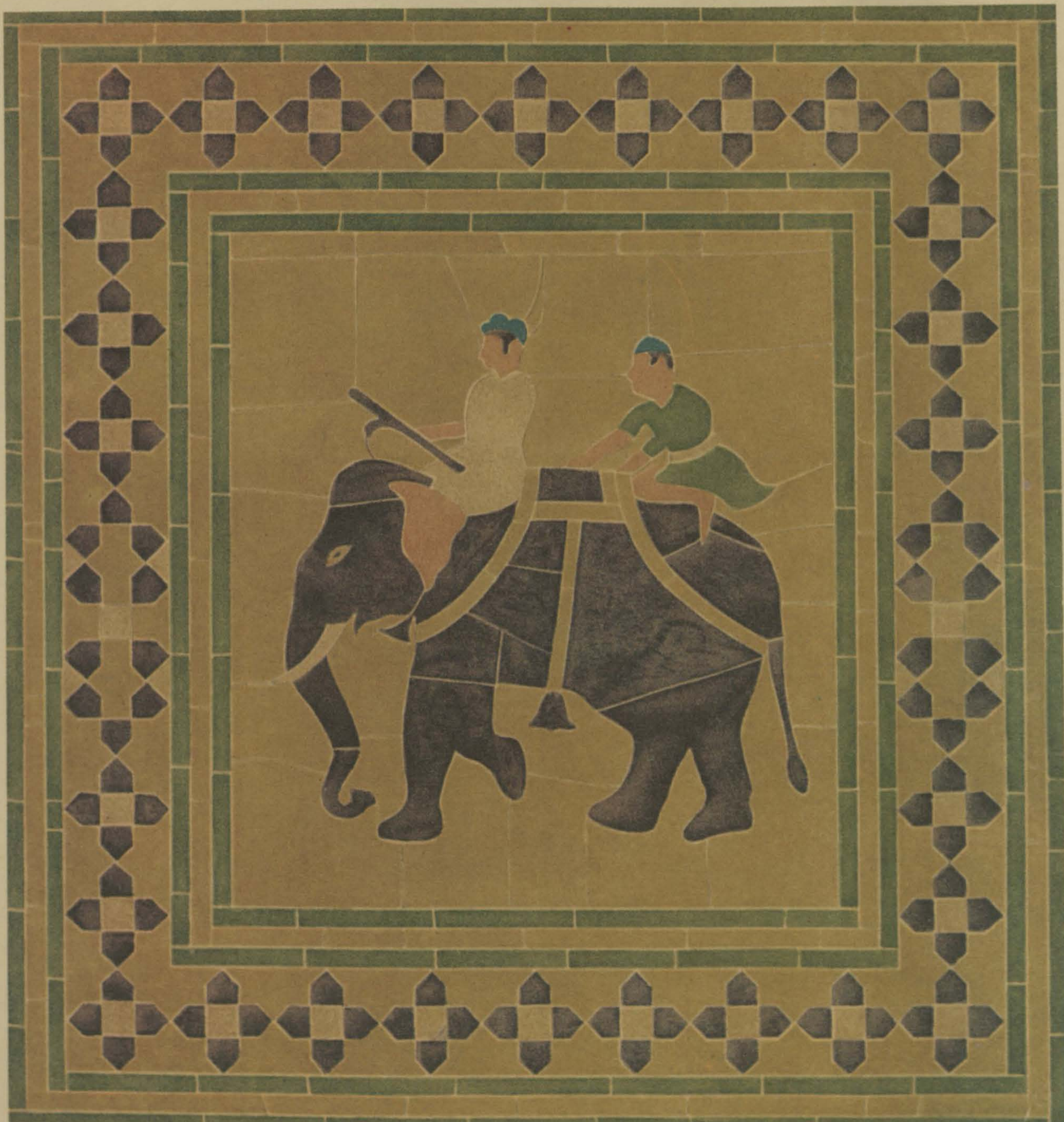
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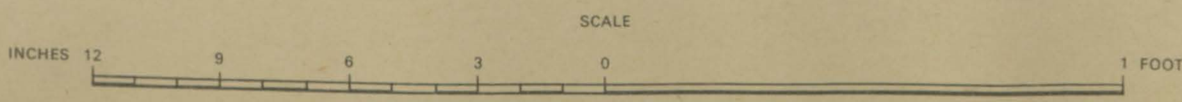
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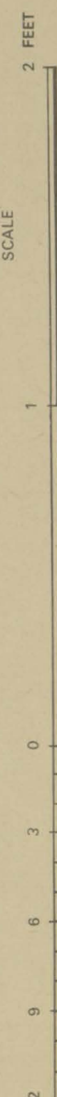


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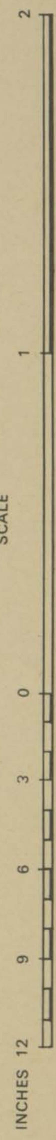
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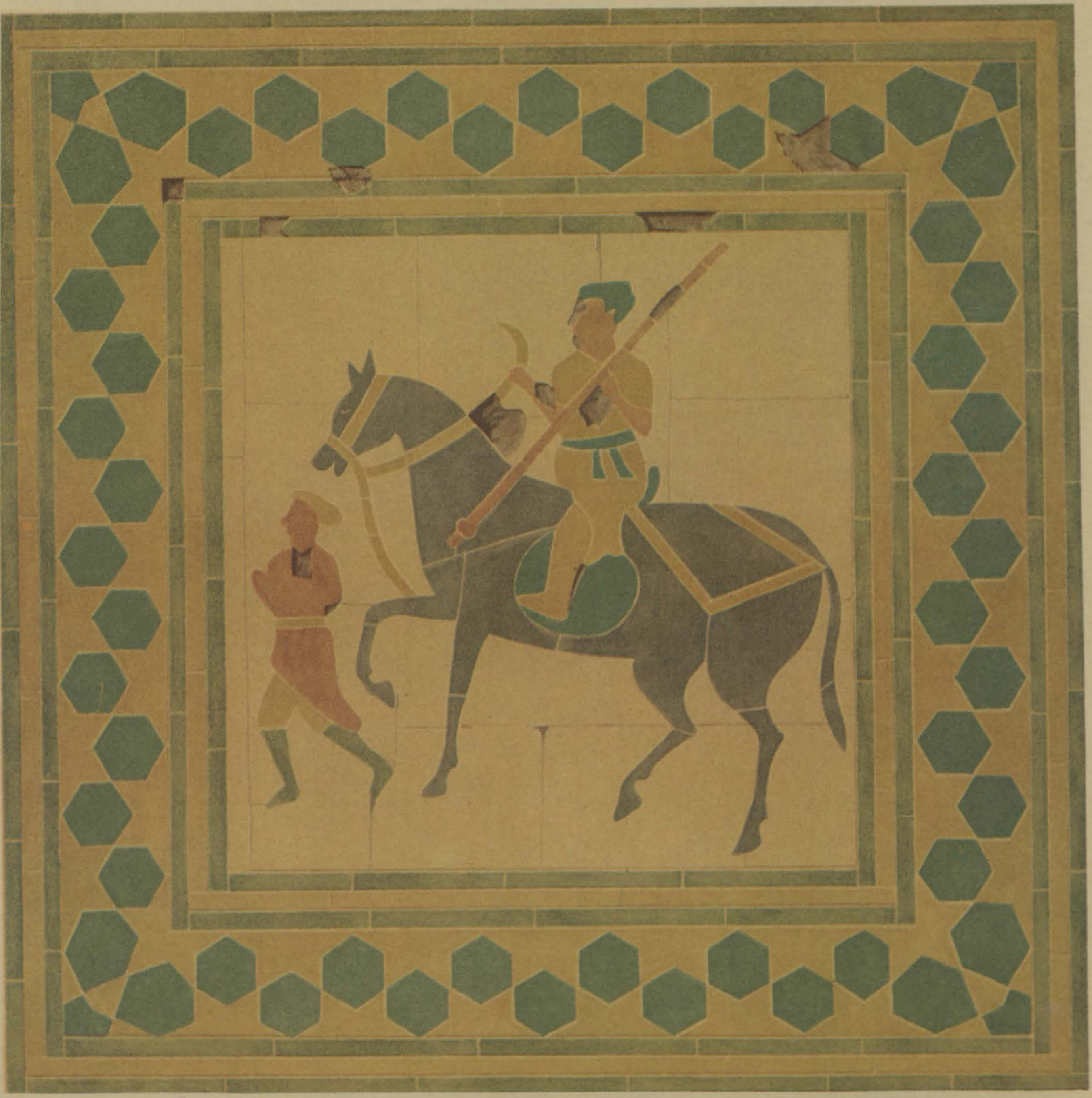
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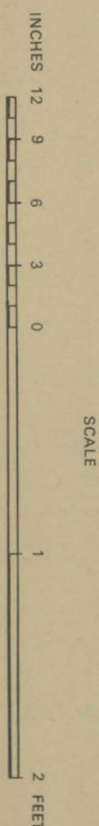
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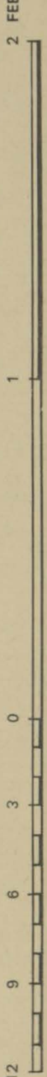


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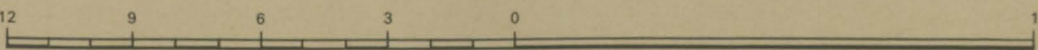


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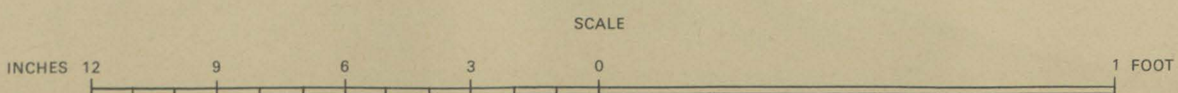
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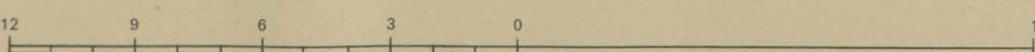



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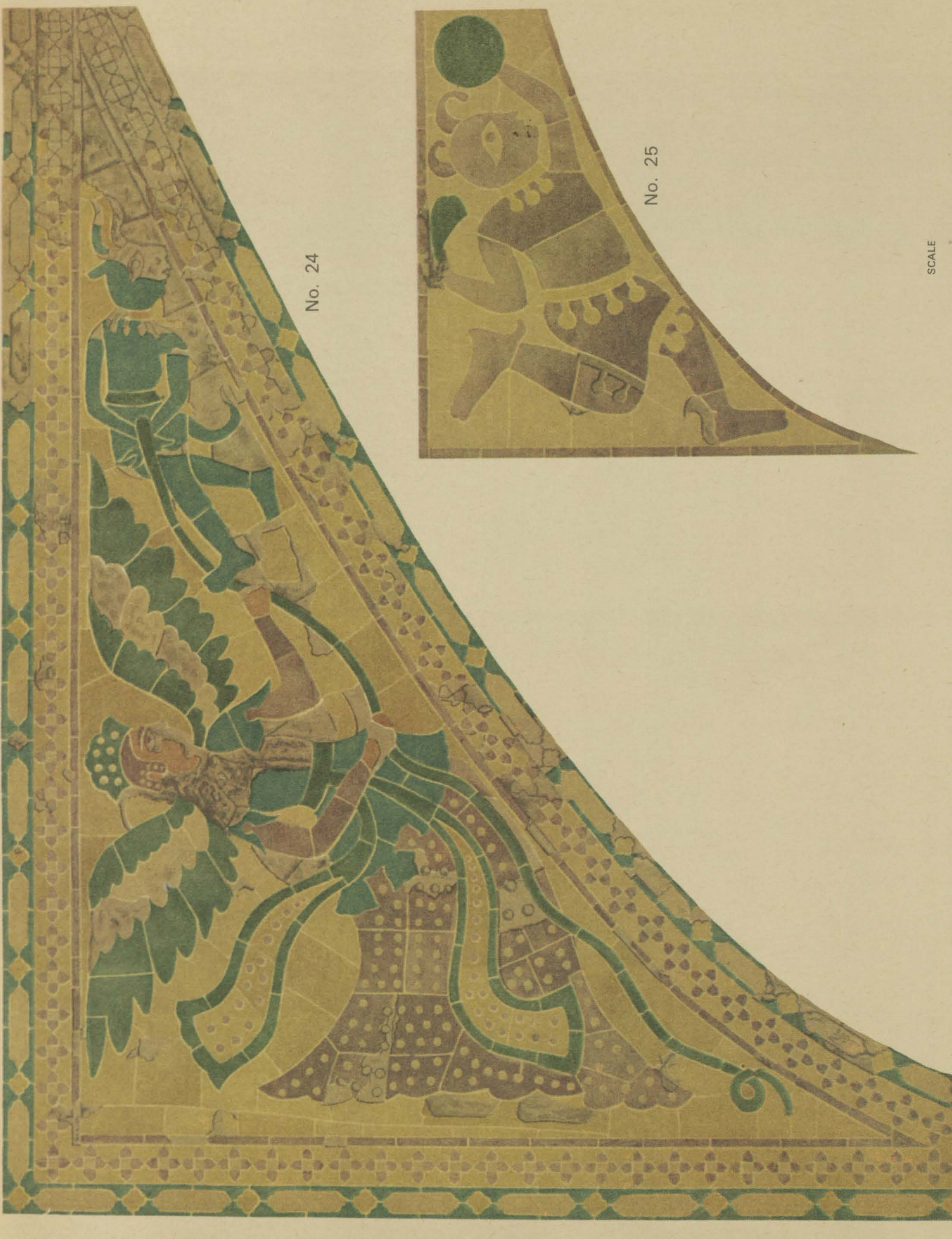
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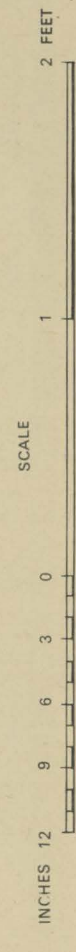
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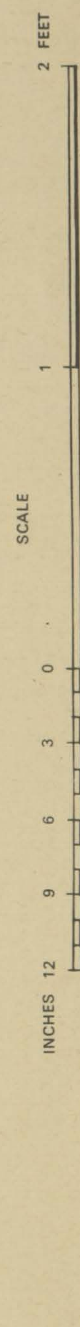
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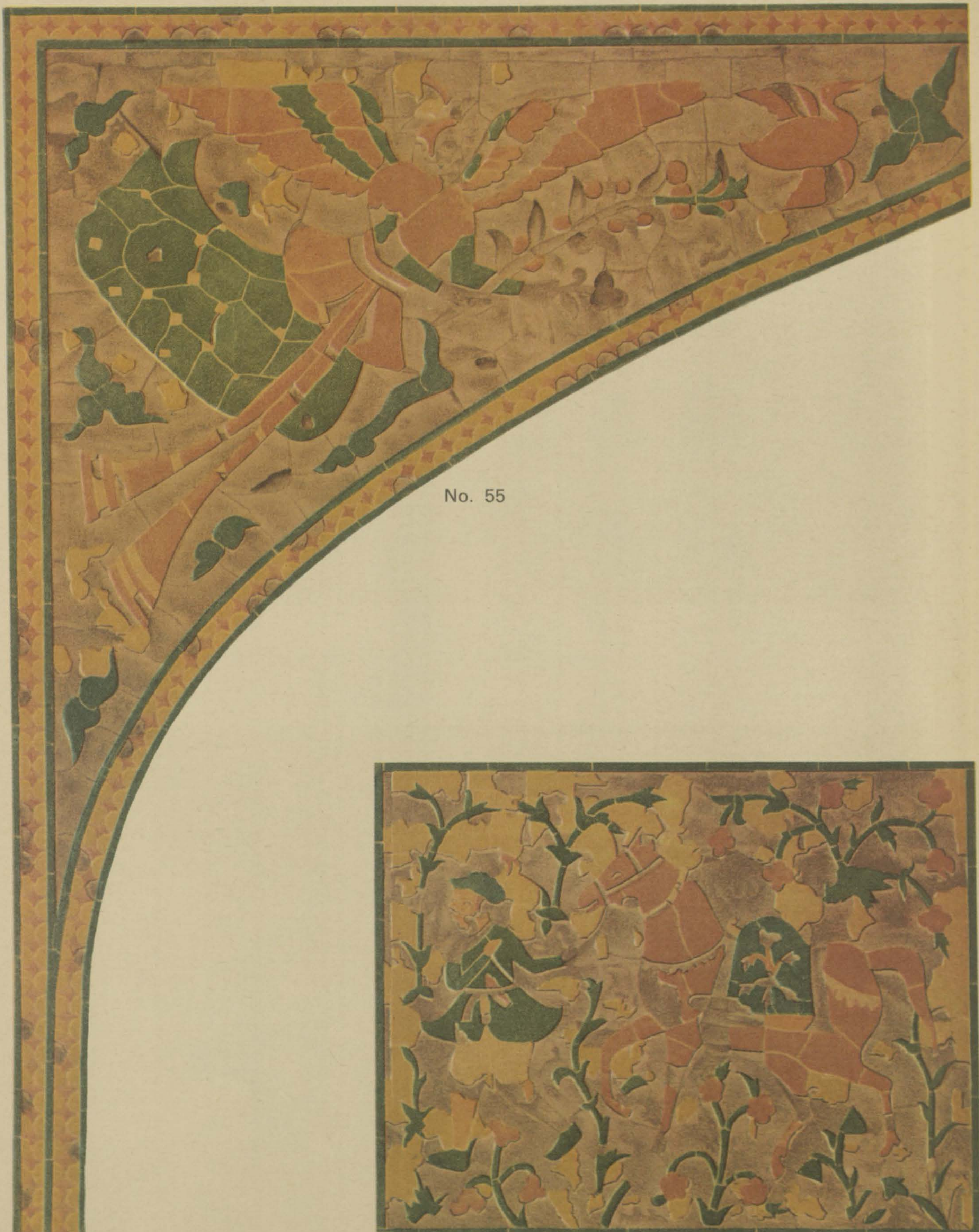
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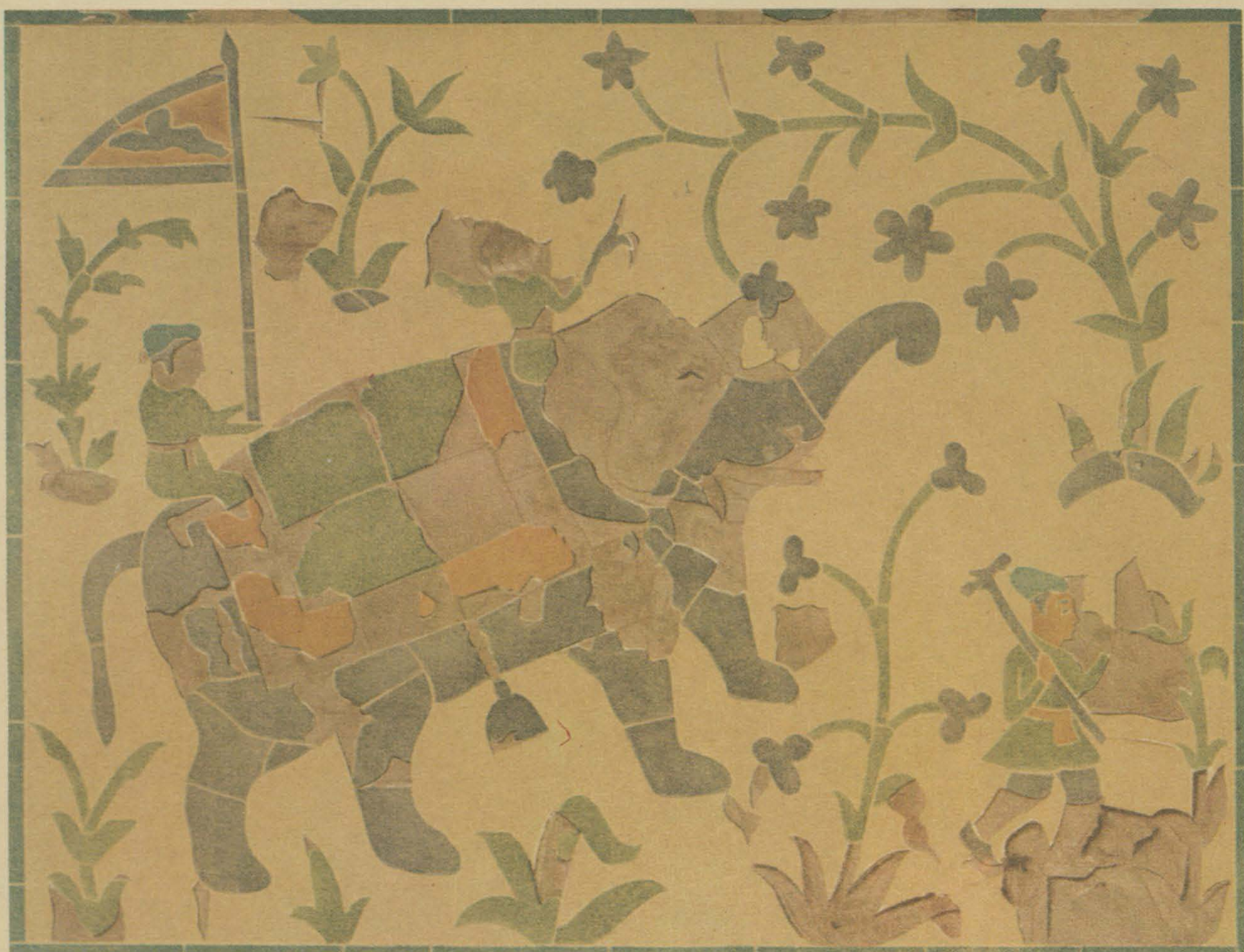


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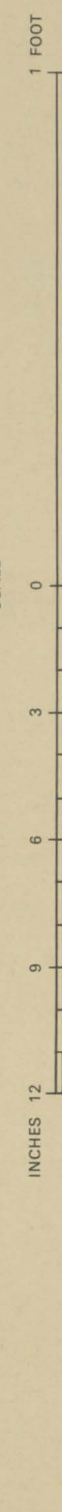
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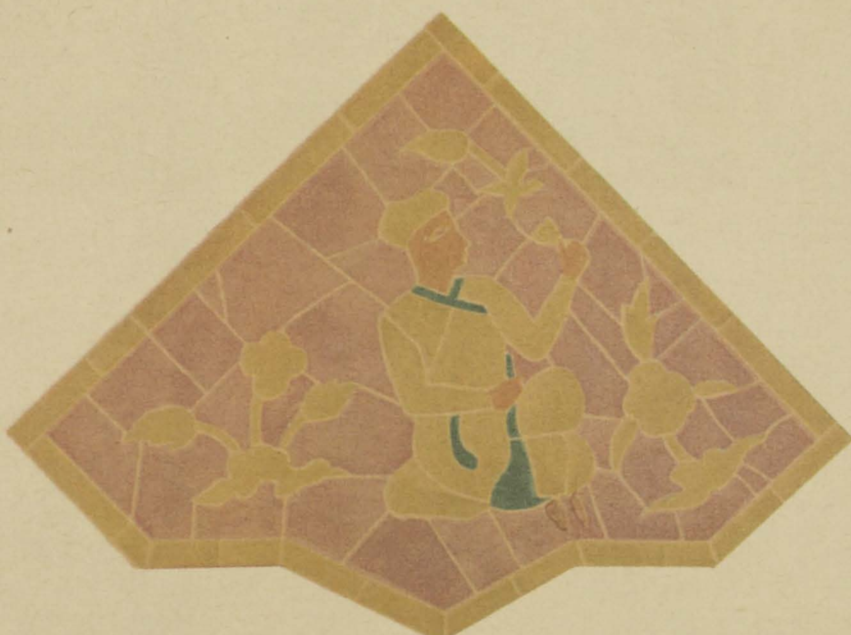
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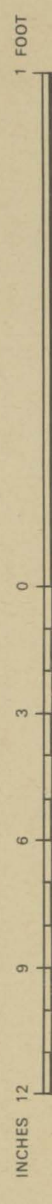
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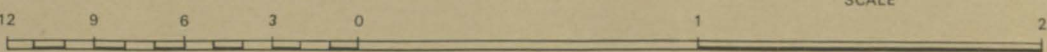
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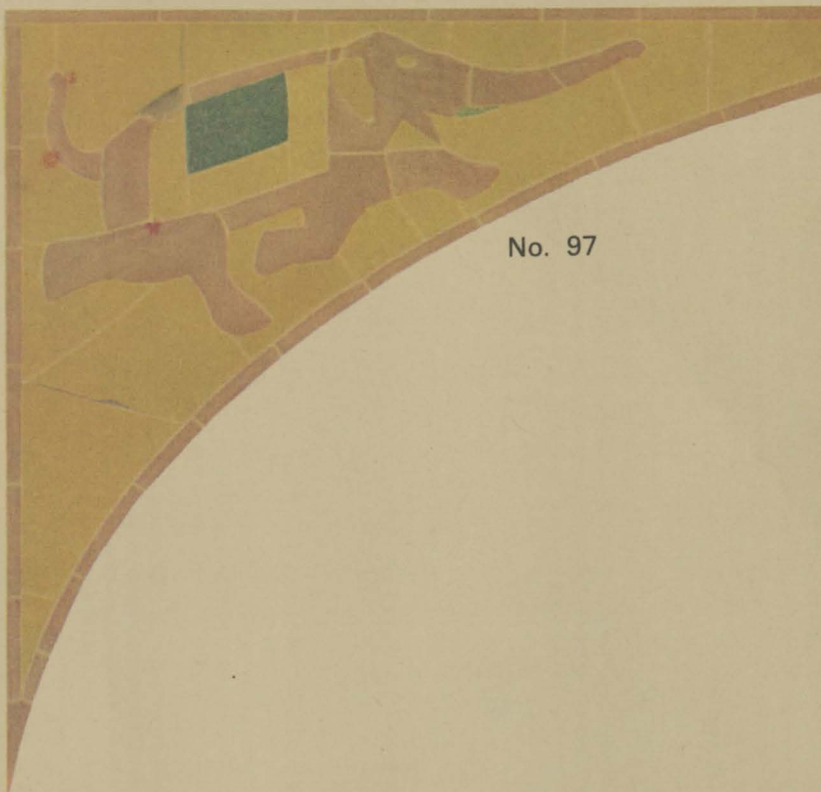
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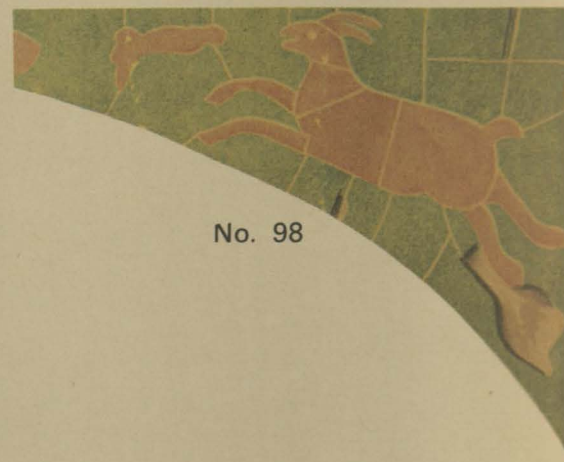
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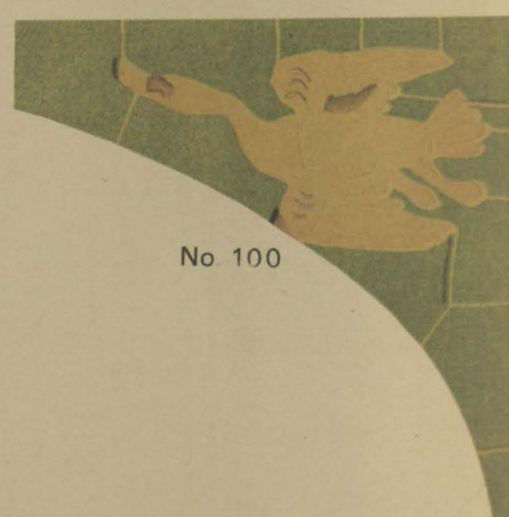
No. 97



No. 98



No. 99



No. 100

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT



No. 101

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT



No. 103

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT

PLATE LXXV



No. 105



No. 104

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT



No. 106



No. 107

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT

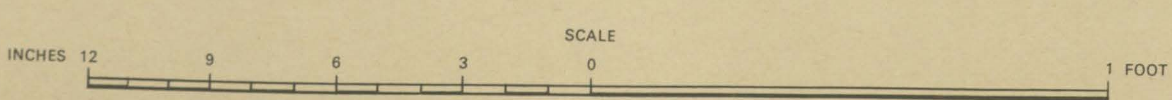
SCALE



No. 108



No. 109





No. 111



No. 114

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT



No. 112



No. 113

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT



No. 115



No. 116

SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT

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Ref. Plate No. XI.—Picture No. 7. Elephant fight



Ref. Plate No. XIII.—Picture No. 9. Elephant pursuing horseman



Ref. Plate No. XIV.—Picture No. 10. Horseman and footman



Ref. Plate No. XVI.—Picture No. 12. Horseman attacked by elephant



Ref. Plate No. XVII.—Picture No. 13. Elephant fight



Ref. Plate No. XVIII.—Picture No. 14. Elephant with *mahaut*



Ref. Plate No. XXI.—Picture No. 18. Dromedary !ed by man



Ref. Plate No. XXV.—Picture No. 23.

Camel led by man



Ref. Plate No. XXXI.—Picture No. 32. Camel-rider



Ref. Plate No. XXXIII.—Picture No. 34.

Horseman, elephant and footman



[illegible] Plate No. XXXIX.—Picture No. [illegible]

Fighting camel[illegible]



Ref. Plate No. XXXVI.—Picture No. 37. Swordsmen



TILE-MOSAICS OF THE LAHORE FORT

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